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THE MYSTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF 'EVAṂ'

By GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

I

Jayaratha, in his commentary on Abhinava Gupta's *Tantrāloka* (III. 94-95) quotes the following verse from an unknown source :

एकाराकृति यद् दिव्यं मध्ये पट्कारभूषितम् ।
आलयः सर्वसौख्यानां वोधरत्नकरण्डकम् ॥

What this verse exactly means is not clear from the context of the commentary. Nor does Jayaratha mention the source of his quotation. But a study of the Tantric Buddhist literature, specially of the Vajrayāna and allied schools of the later age, would make it clear that the couplet is taken from a work of this system and refers to a great mystic symbol current in the same. The commentary on *Tilopa* quotes this stanza and attributes it to Hevajra. It is evident from a glance at this commentary that Jayaratha's quotation, as it appears in the printed edition, is different and probably incorrect, so far as the reading 'पट्कार' is concerned, the correct reading being 'एवकार'. The reading, 'वोधरत्नकरण्डकं' should also be amended in favour of 'बुद्धरत्नकरण्डकं', a reading which is actually found in Hevajra. The meaning of the verse as thus corrected is

that what is known as 'बुद्धरत्नकरण्डक'[1] or the Essence of Supreme Wisdom—the home of all forms of Joy—is symbolised by a celestial form which looks like ए with वं(कार) inserted within it. This symbol is usually referred to under the name of 'एवंकार' in Buddhist mystic literature. The Hevajra itself says :—

आनन्दास्तत्र जायन्ते क्षणभेदेन भेदिताः ।
क्षणज्ञानात् सुखज्ञानम् 'एवंकार'प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

which shows that it is within this एवंकार that different Joys, based on different Kṣaṇas, are believed to take their rise.

The general feature of the symbol is clear enough. The letter 'ए' is represented as ▽, a triangle with its vertex downwards. The letter 'व' with *bindu* attached (वंकार) is represented as △, a triangle with its vertex upwards, the *bindu* (point) being in the centre. 'वंकार' is described as being within the एकार, so that the final shape of the symbol would be something like this Bindu is the common centre of both the triangles and stands for Yoga or union of both.

The two triangles, ए and व, are the separate symbols of Śakti and Śiva respectively and are called शक्तित्रिकोण and

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[1] Also called धर्मकरण्डक. It is the *mahāmudrā* in which शून्यता and करुणा are unified. It is destribed as the receptacle (आधार) of Buddha Jewel (बुद्धरत्न) or the Ultimate Truth (परमार्थसत्य) and as the last ornament (आभरण) of a Vajrayānī Yogin. The Yogin is said to build up a करण्डक in his own body by means of *manas* (mind) and *pavana* (vital principle), when he proceeds, in the language of the Siddhācāryas, to marry the Dombī. In the language of the Siddhānta Śaiva School we may identify this Bindu with the Akṣara Bindu, otherwise known as Anāhata Bindu, which issues from the Supreme Bindu as its second expression, after the manifestation of Nāda, and which is the immediate antecedent to the physical articulate sound expressed as letter-sounds of the alphabet (वर्ण, अक्षरमाला). See Sadyojyoti's commentary on *Ratnatraya* (verse 22).

शिवत्रिकोण in Hindu Āgamic literature, and Bindu is the point where Śakti and Śiva are united together. The usual form of the symbolism is ✡̣ known as *Ṣaṭkoṇa* with bindu within. The *Devendra-Paripṛcchā-Tantra* quoted in a copy of *Subhāṣita-Saṅgraha*, a *Ms* of which was once brought to me for inspection long ago, has two verses relevant to the mystic significance of the great symbol. The verses are :

एकारस्तु भवेन्माता वकारस्तु पिता स्मृतः।
विन्दुस्तत्र भवेद् योगः स योगः परमाक्षरः॥
एकारस्तु भवेत् प्रज्ञा वंकारः सुरताधिपः।
विन्दुश्चानाहतं ज्ञानं तज्जन्यान्यक्षराणि च॥

Here we find that ए represents Mother (or प्रज्ञा i.e., Śakti), व Father (or सुरताधिपः i.e., Śiva) and Bindu their union (योगः), which is the Supreme Akṣara (परमाक्षर), otherwise known as अनाहतज्ञान, the ultimate source of all *akṣaras*.

Kānhapāda, in one of his *Dohās*, says—

एवंकार दिढ वाखोड मोडिउ।
विविह विआपक बान्धण तोडिउ॥[2]
कान्ह विलसअ आसव माता।
सहज नलिनीवन पइसि निविता॥[3]

The commentary notes : "एकारश्चन्द्राभामः, वंकारः सूर्यः, उभयं दिवा-रात्रिज्ञानम्." That is, ए is the Moon or Night and वं is the Sun or Day, so that एवं stands for Night and Day or Time (काल). In the Yogic language, usually the moon is taken to be the representative of Prakṛti and the Sun that of Puruṣa. This interpretation too would thus corroborate the sense in the above.

It is well-known in the Mahayanic and Vajrayanic Buddhist literature, though it is a mystery the true significance of which can hardly be appreciated outside the

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[2] *Caryāpada*, ed by M. M. Basu, Cal. University 1943, p. 32.

[3] *Ibid.*

esoteric circle, that there is a great difference, fundamental in nature, between the two Nayas of Mahāyāna, viz., Prajñāpāramitā-Naya and Mantra-Naya. It is said that the truths of the former wisdom were revealed by the Teacher from the heights of Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain, but the secrets of Mantric lore were expounded from a distinct place known as Śrī Dhānya. These are in my opinion really the names of two Pīṭhas within the body and should not be confounded with the well-known geographical sites of the same name, with which, for special reasons, they are usually identified.

The *Mūla Tantra*, cited by Naropa in his commentary on *Sekoddeśa*, says :

आकाशे त्वजडे स्वच्छेऽनवकाशप्रकाशिनि ।
विश्वे वज्रालये लयने (?) धर्मधातौ मनोरमे ॥
तन्त्रस्य देशना पुंसां पुण्यज्ञानप्रयोजनम् ।
एकारो गगनालोको धर्मधातुः प्रकीर्तितः ॥
वंकारः सुगतव्यूह एकारे सम्यग् विष्टितः ॥

This shows that the Symbol ए, within which the figure वं is inserted, represents the pure spiritual light of infinite space conceived as *Dharmadhātu* (or Essence of Dharma) and that the enclosed figure वं stands for the series of the Buddhas who have realized their identity with this *Dhātu*.

Elsewhere it is declared that ए is Bhaga (Yoni, triangle of Śakti), Dharmodaya (*Dharmadhātu* revealed), lotus, Siṃhāsana and Ādhāra, whereas वं is the Ādi Buddha or Vajra Sattva seated thereon as its Ādheya :

ए रहस्याख्यधातौ वा भगे धर्मोदयेऽम्बुजे ।
सिंहासने स्थितो वज्री उक्तमन्त्रान्तरे मया ॥
वं वज्री वज्रसत्त्वश्च वज्रभैरव ईश्वरः ।
हेवज्रः कालचक्रश्च आदिबुद्धादिनामकः ॥

2

In the Hindu Tantras also the highly mystic character of the symbol is recognised and its interpretation is more

or less of a similar nature. As in the Buddhist works, the letter ए symbolizes, in the form of a triangle (शृङ्गाट), the Śakti Yantra (Bhaga, Yoni) conceived as the House of Fire (वह्निगेह):

त्रिकोणमेकादशमं वह्निगेहं च योनिकम्।
शृङ्गाटं चैव एकार नामभिः परिकीर्तितम्॥

It is the secret sphere (गुप्तमण्डल) within infinite space (वियत्स्थ) and is usually described as the "mouth of Yoginī" (योगिनीवक्त्र). Its three angles represent the three powers of Will, Knowledge and Action, and within its sacred precincts lies buried, like the वंकार in Buddhist literature, the mystery of the so-called *Ciñciṇī-Krama :*

त्रिकोणं भगमित्युक्तं वियत्स्थं गुप्तमण्डलम्।
इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाकोणं तन्मध्ये चिञ्चिणीक्रमम॥

It may be pointed out that the letter ए, even in the early days of its appearance in the Brāhmī script of Aśoka, had the shape of a triangle. From a consideration of phono-genetics it would seem that ए = अ (or आ) + इ. The letters अ and आ signify the basic or initial vibration of the Transcendent Consciousness-Power and the bubbling of ineffable Joy respectively and the letter इ denotes Will-Power. When these are combined the result is the manifestation of a triangle:

अनुत्तरानन्दचिती इच्छाशक्तौ नियोजिते।
त्रिकोणमिति यत् प्राहुर्विसर्गानन्दसुन्दरम्॥

It is to be remembered, however, that the transcendent (अनुत्तर = अ) consisting of the three Śaktis, viz., रौद्री, ज्येष्ठा and वामा is of the nature of a triangle; so is Joy (आनन्द = आ). What is known as the hexagon or the Tantric *Ṣaṭkoṇa* is the result of the union of the aforesaid triangles अ or आ on one hand and ए on the other. This is symbolized

by the letter ऐ. It is known in the Tantras as the well-known पउर, which is held to be one of the greatest secrets of the Science.

The एवं of Buddhist mysticism and the ऐ of Tantric mysticism would thus virtually signify the same or a similar symbol and are held to be equally sacred.

RĀFI'-UL-KHILĀF

OF SITA RAM KAYASTHA SAKSENA, OF LUCKNOW

(Kavīndrācārya's *Jñānasāra* and its Persian Translation)

By TARA CHAND

The manuscript* consists of 62 folios, 8½ ins. by 6 ins. Each page contains 13 lines.

Not much information is available concerning Sita Ram, the author of this treatise. The copyist Shital Rai Asthana calls the author Jāmi' Ka'mālāt-i-sūri-o-m'anvi Rai Sita Ram Lakhnavī (جامع کمالات صوری و معنوی رای سیتا رام لکهنوی) and gives 1199 A. H. (1784 A.D.) as the date of the copy, which was therefore written only 18 years after the composition of the work by the author.

Rāfi'-ul-Khilāf (رافع الخلاف) which means the "remover of difference" is a work in the tradition of Dara Shukoh's *Majma'-ul-bahrain* (مجمع البحرین). Sita Ram explaining the object of the work points out that the differences which exist between the religious beliefs of the Hindus and Muslims are superficial and based on lack of understanding, for in reality "all paths—Zorastrian, Muslim, Jew, Christian, Magian, Hindu—seek God—the Glorious and Exalted." He goes on to say that Dara Shukoh wrote *Majma'–ul-bahrain* in order to reconcile differences, but the treatise was so short that many difficulties remained unexplained, therefore, he undertook to compose in Persian a commentary on Śrī Kavīndrācārya's *Jñāna-Sāra* which is a Bhāsā version of the *Yoga-Vāśiṣṭha* in Sanskrit. He has given the dohas in Hindi and a running translation and commentary of each doha in Persian. Wherever necessary he has quoted Persian and

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*The MS belongs to the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Alld.

Arabic texts to show that the teachings of the *Yoga Vāśiṣṭha* accord with those of Muslim mystics.

Kavīndrācārya Saraswatī is a wellknown scholar who lived in Benares during the latter part of the 17th cent. All that is known about him is related in the following:—

1. *Kavīndrācārya sūcī patram*, edited by Dr. Ganganatha Jha, *Gaekvad Oriental Series* No. XVII, 1921. Introduction.
2. *Kavīndracandrodaya*, edited by Pandits Haradutta Sharma and M. M. Patkar, *Poona Oriental Series*, Series No. 60. Introduction.
3. *Annal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati, for December 1940. Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī by Pt. P. K. Gode.

Additional information which confirms Pt. P. K. Gode's suggestion concerning the identity of the Benares Pandit mentioned in Bernier's Travels with Kavīndrācārya, comes from the Pādshah Namah of Mohammad Wāris, which is the completion of the Pādshah Namah of Abdul Hamīd Lahori. The manuscript of Wāris in the Allahabad University Library contains the following passage (p. 200.b). under the account of the 24th year of the reign of Shahjahan when he was weighed at Lahore on attaining the sixty-first year of his age (according to the Lunar reckoning):

کب اندر سنیاسی که دربار یست دهرپد , تصنیفات هندی
سلیقه درست و مهارت تمام دارد و بدر گاه عالم پناه رسیده رخصت
بار یافت و تصنیفاتش بسند طبع مبارك افتاده به انعام اسپ و خلعت
و دو هزار روپیه نقد مباهی گشته سر عزت براوج فلك برافراخت -

"Kavindra Sanyāsī who is a Darbari has a correct taste and complete mastery in Dhrupad music and Hindi literary composition. He came to the court of the emperor (the protector of the world) and obtained permission for entry.

His compositions were found pleasing by the Emperor, he was exalted with the award of a horse, a robe of honour, and two thousand rupees in cash. In esteem he was raised to the height of the sky."

Kavīndrācārya must have been a remarkable personality. He was a scholar who had access to the court of the Mughal Emperor, who conferred upon him the title of *Sarvavidyānidhāna*, and is reputed to have intervened on behalf of the sacred cities of Benares and Prayaga in obtaining remission from the pilgrim tax. The Persian annals do not record either the imposition or remission of the tax, but *Kavīndracandrodaya* which is a literary anthology of verses in his honour celebrates the achievement. He was a philosopher, who had no hesitation in teaching the doctrines and dogmas of Hinduism to non-Hindus, e.g., Bernier and Dānishmand Khān, besides Dārā Shukoh. He wrote commentaries on a part of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Daśa Kumaracarita*. He was a poet who composed a *Kalpadruma* containing stories in Sanskrit. He was a bibliophile who collected together a large and comprehensive library, and he had no prejudices in getting some of his religious works copied by Muslim copyists. He composed also verses in Bhāṣā. Grierson (in the modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan) mentions, "at the instance of the Emperor Shahjahan (1628–58) he took to writing poems in the vernacular. His principal work of this nature was the *Kavīndra–kalpa-latā*, in which there are many poems in praise of Dara Shukoh and the Begam Sahiba." Thakur Shiva Singh Sengar quotes some of these verses in the *Śiva-Sinha-Saroj*. In the search reports of Hindi manuscripts compiled under the auspices of the Nāgari Prachāriṇī Sabhā two other works of Kavīndra in Hindi are mentioned: (1) *Samarasāra* and (2) *Yogavāśiṣṭhasāra* or *Jñānasāra*. Concerning the first Shyam Sundar Das says that it is an astrological treatise for finding out

auspicious days for expeditions. According to Misra brothers it is a work of Padmakar class in mixed Braja and Avadhi.

Yogavāśiṣṭha Sāra or Jñāna Sāra is the text which has been translated and annotated by Sita Ram. He has used the text to demonstrate the identity of the teachings of Muslim Sufism with those of *Yogavāśiṣṭha*.

The book is supposed to be divided into 6 chapters. The introductory *dohā* of the *Jñānasāra* is—

है अनंत व्यापक सकल चिनमय सीरो धाम।
अनुभव तें ठहरात है ता को करूं प्रनाम॥

The chapters are entitled as follows:

(1) Bairāga Parakaran
(बैराग परकरन)

(2) Atha Jagat mithyat nāma dutiya Parakaran.
(अथ जगत मिथ्यात नाम दुतिय परकरन)

(3) Atha Jivan-mukt nāma tritiya Parakaran.
(अथ जीवन मुक्त नाम तृतीय परकरन)

(4) Atha manon nirūpana nāma caturtha Parakaran
(अथ मनों निरूपन नाम चतुर्थ परकरन)

(5) Pañcama Parakaran
(पंचम परकरन)

(6) Atama Satya nāma Ṣaṭam Parakaran
(आतम सत्या नाम षटम् परकरन)

(7) Siddha nirūpana nāma Sapta Parakaran
(सिद्ध निरूपन नाम सप्त परकरन)

It ends with one dohā and six chaupais in which Kavīndra is praised:

परमेसर कों पाइकै पाइ किरपा कौलेस।
वहु ग्रंथ अनुभव किये और गुरु के उपदेस॥
कवीन्द्र सरसुती संन्यासी, पण्डित ज्ञानी काशी बासी॥
अरथ उपनिषद नीके जान, लियो परम ब्रह्म पहचान॥
उन एह ग्रथ भल्यो बनायो, याह बनावत बहु सुख पायो॥
'ज्ञान सार' है या को नाम, ज्ञानी पावें सो सुख धाम॥
जौ लौं रहिहै भूम अकास, तौ लौं 'ज्ञानसार' परकास॥
चार बेद चारों जुग जौ लौं, 'ज्ञानसार' यह रहि है तौ लौं॥

The commentary is full of parallels between Hindu and Muslim concepts and ideas. Some of them may be noted here for the sake of illustration.

Kavīndra—
जौ लौं नहीं जगदीस की होत कृपा कौलेस।
तौ लौं सतगुर ना मिलै ना विद्या उपदेस॥

Abdulla Ansari—
الهی ابوجهل از کعبه می آید و ابراهیم از بتخانه
کار از عنایت است باقی بهانه

Kavīndra—
दुखमय जग अज्ञ को ज्ञानी कों सुख रूप।
भुवन अन्धेरो आन्धरन्ह औरनहूं जोत अनूप॥

Maghribi—
من که در صورت خوباں همه او می بینم
تو مپندار که من روے نیکو مي بینم
هر کجا می نگرد دیده درو می نگرد
هرچه می بینم از و جمله بد و مي بینم
مغربي آں که تو اش می طلبی در خلوت
من عیاں بر سر هر کوچه و کعبه مي بینم

Hadith—
من کان في هذه عمي فهوفی الاخرت اعمی

Kavīndra—

अचरज माया चतुर है मोहत है संसार।
लखै न आपा आपहें अंग अंग व्यापनहार।।

Bedil—

عشق انجمنے است در نظر نیست
رنگے است بہار جلوہ گر نیست
اسرار جہاں ہست دگر نیست
من میگویم کسے دگر نیست
ایں طرفہ کہ از خودم خبر نیست

Kavindra—

बिन आसा बिन चाह को बिन इच्छा बिन काम।
परमानंद सरूप हौं चिनमय हौं ए राम।।

Farīduddīn Attār—

من خدایم من خدایم من خدا
فارغم از کبر و کینہ وز ہوا

Kavīndra—

ज्ञान ज्ञेय तें नहीं जुदो ज्ञान ज्ञेय इक पोत।
या तें और कछु नहीं ताते भेद न होत।।

Jāmī

در دیدہ عیاں تو بودۂ من غافل
در سینہ نہاں تو بودۂ من غافل
از جملہ جہاں نشان تو می جستم
خود جملہ جہاں تو بودۂ من غافل

HISTORICAL NOTES AND QUESTIONS

By D. R. Bhandarkar

(1)

Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, who flourished in the first half of the eighth century A.D., writes in his *Tantra-vārtika* as follows:

adyatve-py-Ahicchatra-Mathurānivāsi—brāhmaṇīnāṃ surā—pānaṃ .... *bhāry—āpatya—mitra—sahabhojanādy —udīcyānāṃ.*[1]

This passage has been translated by the late Sir Ganganatha Jha as follows: "Among the people of modern days we find the Brahmana women of the countries of Ahichchhatra and Mathura to be addicted to drinking;... and they are also used to eating in the same dish with their wives, children and friends."[2] The passage in question speaks of some customs and practices which were prevalent among the people of North India in the time of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa but which shocked the orthodoxy of the southerners. One of these was that the Brāhmaṇa women could drink liquor and the other was that the members of one and the same family partook together of food from the same dish. Whether the second custom is still prevalent or not it is difficult to say. I am, however, told, rightly or wrongly, that in the Punjab it has not yet completely died out, namely, that of the male and female members of a family taking food together from one and the same *thali* or dish,—a custom which shocks people settling down there from outside. But the custom of Brāhmaṇa women of

1 (*Benar. Sk. Series* Ed.), p. 128.

2 English Trans. (*Biblio. Ind.*), p. 183.

Ahicchatra or Mathura taking liquor has become extinct, they say. There can, however, be no doubt that in the eighth century A.D. this custom was prevalent and that it was known even to a southerner, that is, Kumārila. How could such a custom be in vogue,—a custom of a male not drinking but a female taking liquor? This reminds us of the Kāyastha Prabhus of Maharashtra, whose women, I am told, took wine uptil forty-five years ago at least, not for the enjoyment of the drink so much like their husbands as for the continuance of the happy state *saubhāgya*, unwidowed wifehood. In both the cases this may be due to the influence of Tantra belief and worship. And this custom must have continued in spite of the injunctions of the Smṛtis to the contrary. Thus, the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (V. 256) has: *patilōkaṃ na sā yāti brāhmaṇī yā surāṃ pibet/ih-aiva sā śunī gṛdhrī śukarī c—ōpajāyate.* "A Brāhmaṇa female, who drinks liquor, shall not go to that celestial region of her husband; but she will be born again as a bitch, a female vulture, or a sow." *Vaśiṣṭha* (XXI. 15) also lays down the following: *pataty-ardhaṃ śarīrasya yasya bhāryā surāṃ pibēt/patit-ārdha-śarīrasya niṣkṛtir-na vidhīyate.* "Half the body of the husband falls if his wife drinks spirituous liquor. No purification is prescribed for the half which has fallen."[3]

Students of Indian history and culture need not be told that there are or were many customs prevalent in the different parts of the country, which were in consonance with the Śruti-śāstra but were opposed to Dharma or are still in vogue though contrary to the dictates of both. It is quite possible that the two customs referred to above may be still in existence in North India, observed partially or covertly. And it is desirable in the interest of history that

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[3] *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIV., pp. 112-13.

scholars and ethnologists will carry on investigation in these matters and ascertain where they are still prevalent, and in what form and with what motive.

(2)

Did the Sassanians (Later Persians) conquer and hold any part of India as did the Achemians (Earlier Persians) ?

It is well-known from the inscriptions of Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam (c. 486 B. C.) that the empire of Darius, son of Hystaspes, had been divided into a number of satrapies and that the Indian satrapy comprised the course of the Indus from Kālabāgh to the sea, including the whole of Sind and included a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus. The question arises whether the Persians had similarly carved a satrapy in India when the Sassanians were at the height of their glory ? As a matter of fact, in the year 1926 Prof. Herzfeld had occasion to examine two inscriptions, one found at Paikali and the other at Persepolis. The results of his decipherment and interpretation were communicated to the various learned societies interested in the subject through H. M. Consul, Shiraz, to the Political Resident in the Persian gulf, Bushire. One such was sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal which may be reproduced here as follows :—

"A son of Hurmuz II (A.D. 302-309) and brother of Shapur II (A.D. 369-376), whose name was also Shapur, has the title 'Sakan-shah', i.e., the ruler of the whole Śaka Empire, and 'dabiran dabir' (something like Head of the Civil Service) of Hind, Śakastan, and Turkistan (which is possibly meant for Tukharistan, i.e., northern Afghanistan)". The Sassanian empire thus included Turkistan, Śakastan and also Hind. Turkistan (=Tukhā-

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An. Bhand. Ins., Vol. VIII, p. 135.

ristan) and Śakastan (=Sistan) represent North and South Afghanistan respectively. But what is Hind? Obviously it must be Sind or the Indus Valley. That Darius had a satrapy consisting of a part of India is not supported at all by any evidence, literary, numismatic or epigraphic forthcoming from this country. Nevertheless, we accept it as a historical fact. There can, therefore, be no reasonable ground for doubting that the Sassanian empire also comprised some frontier province of India, such as is mentioned in the Paikali inscription. But fortunately for us we have numismatic evidence in favour of it. "There are found in NW India," says E. J. Rapson, a great authority on Indian numismatics, "coins of Sassanian type and fabric bearing inscrs. in Nāgarī, Sassanian Pahlavī, and an alphabet, hitherto unread, which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet used by the Scytho-Sassanians. These have been sometimes attributed to the latter Hūṇas, but without sufficient reason. They were almost certainly struck by some Sassanian dynasty or dynastics—as is shown by the style of the coins and by the use of the Sassanian Pahlavi—ruling over Sind. For one of these issues which has the name Śrī Vāsudeva only in Nāgarī characters and all the remaining portion of its legends in Sassanian Pahlavī, an approximate date is fixed by its very near resemblance to a coinage issued by Khusru II. Parviz in the 37th year of his reign=627 A.D."[5] There are two types of coins issued by Vāsudeva Chahman, one of which clearly shows that he ruled over Ṭāka, Jābulistan and Sapādalakṣa and that his capital was Multan. It thus seems that Sind, Kathiawar

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[5] *Indian Coins*, p. 30, para. 109.

and Rajputana were practically under the Sassanian rule, from the third century A.D. to the time of Khusru II. Parviz. This is supported by the fact that Tabari[6] speaks of Shapur II, having built cities not only in Sagistan (Sistan) but also in Sind, and, above all, that Al Masudi[7] refers to fire-temples being in existence in Sind. It is hoped that Indian scholars, above all, Parsi scholars, will investigate this subject in full detail.

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[6] S. K. Hodivala's *Parsis of Ancient India*, p. 22.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE IN THE LIGHT OF ĀBHĀSAVĀDA

By K. C. Pandey

Preliminary

The aesthetic problem in India has been studied not with reference to music, or plastic or pictorial representation but with exclusive reference to the dramatic presentation. The former are, strictly speaking, subsidiaries to the latter. The reason is obvious. No art can present in physical form an aesthetic fact better than can the dramatic, for it appeals to both the aesthetic senses, the eye and the ear, and marshals all other arts, including the poetic, to its aid.

This problem has been studied from two different points of view, namely, of the artist and of the spectator. The study from the former point of view has naturally been confined to the ways and means of the production of the aesthetic object, and the latter has been occupied with the psychological process involved in and with the essential nature of the aesthetic experience consequent on the cognition of such an object.

Psycho-Epistemic Approach to the problem of Aesthetics

The first philosophical approach to the problem of aesthetics, in the history of Indian aesthetics, is from the psycho-epistemic point of view. It is, therefore, naturally concerned with (i) the nature of the object of the aesthetic experience, (ii) the means of knowing it and (iii) the final judgment and its nature. According to this (i) the aesthetic object is an imitation, (ii) the means of knowledge is inference, (iii) the judgment is an unanalysed flood of conflicting judgments such as cannot be brought

under any one of the judgments of the well-known accepted forms and (iv) the experience is due to the objective cognition of the presented.

The view may be elaborated as follows:

The basic mental state (Sthāyībhāva) known through inference from an imitative presentation of the Real, not cognised as such, is called Rasa for the simple reason that it is an imitation.

The inferential knowledge is aroused by the perception of reasons of three types, imitatively presented on the stage :

(i) Situation with human focus (Vibhāva). It is the cause of the basic mental state.

(ii) Mimetic changes, the perceptable physical changes, voluntary or involuntary, the root cause of which is the same basic mental state (Anubhāva).

(iii) Transient emotions, the invariable concomitants of the basic mental state.

The Necessity of Inference

The content of the Rasa, according to this theory, is the basic mental state. But it is beyond the reach of the imitative art to present it. The imitative art has only two means of presentation :

1. The literary language, which is the primary means of the presentation of the situation. The stage limitations are such as do not allow the scenic presentation to go as far in the represantation of the real as can the language.

2. The psycho-physical training to bring about physical changes in which an emotion expresses itself or which invariably accompany it. By this means the effect of the basic mental state, the mimetic changes and the invariable concomitants of it, the transient emotions, are presented. The basic mental state

does not admit of presentation even in words, hence the necessity of inference.

Thus, according to this theory, the basic mental state is known through inference only. But this inference may be called erroneous inasmuch as the basic mental state does not exist in the imitating actor. The aesthetic experience, however, results from it exactly as does fear from a rope mistaken for a serpent.

The nature of the Inferential Judgment

The judgment is reached through inference. Therefore both the place where the thing is inferred and the thing itself figure in the judgment. Further, the judgment tends to be of recognitive nature. Naturally, therefore, both the imitated and the imitating figure in it. In the case of the imitative presentation of love, the form of judgment, therefore, tends to be "that happy being e.g. (Rāma) is this".

Unclassifiability of the Recognitive Cognition

But recognition ordinarily involves the element of certainty. It is certain knowledge such as prevents the recognition of the same in many. If one has recognised X in A, the recognition of the same in B is out of the question. For, in the latter case the former recognition will have to be declared invalid. The fact, however, according to the exponents of the imitation theory of art, is, that the imitated is recognised in all successful imitations. The recognition in art, therefore, is devoid of that element of certainty which would prevent the recognition of the imitated in other imitative presentations. It is for this reason not dubious either. It is an unanalysed flood of cognitions of the opposing nature and therefore no question about its nature can be raised. It is a unique experience. The consciousness of the imitated arises from the imitative dramatic presentation

exactly as does that of a horse from a pictorial or the plastic presentation of it.

Contribution of This Theory

1. Indefinability of the experience.

2. Unpresentability of the basic mental state in language.

3. The doctrine of contradiction in experience.

Its Criticism

The imitation and inference theories of art cannot go together if the inference has reference to the basic mental state, that is, if Rasa be described as due to objective consciousness of an imitated basic mental state got through inference from three types of reasons cognised as imitations. The reason may be stated as follows:—

The imitation theory of art is maintained by some of the western aestheticians also. We shall discuss the western point of view in a subsequent paper. Here, therefore, we shall confine our attention to Śaṅkuka's theory only. His imitation theory aroused immediate opposition from Abhinava's teachers in poetics and dramaturgy. Bhaṭṭendurāja and Bhaṭṭa Tauta were probably his younger contemporaries because Abhinava clearly attributes the criticisms to his teachers. It can briefly be stated as follows:—

Critics raised the question of the point of view, viz., from whose point of view is art an imitation? Is it from the point of view (1) of a spectator, (2) or that of an actor, (3) or that of a disinterested analyst who aims at finding out the real nature of dramatic presentation, (4) or is it that it is the view of Bharata himself as expressed somewhere in his *Nāṭya-Śāstra*? Let it be remembered

that Saṅkuka's imitation theory of art refers to the basic mental state only.

Imitation theory cannot be maintained from the spectator's point of view. Firstly, because consciousness of imitation presupposes direct perception of what is spoken of as an imitation. As, for instance, when a certain person drinks milk in a certain way, and says "Thus X drinks wine," drinking of milk, which is directly perceived by the spectator, is taken by him to be an imitation of wine drinking of X. Now, in the case of aesthetic object, what is there in the actor, who is considered to be imitating, that is directly perceived and is taken to be an imitation of Sthāyī? His body, various kinds of mimetic changes, physical states that he exhibits and variety of articles of dress that he wears, are the only things which are directly perceptible. But no. body will be prepared to accept them as imitation of a basic mental state, because of essential difference in their nature; the former are physical but the latter is purely mental. There is difference in the means of their cognition also. In the one eyes play an important part, but the other is purely the work of mind.

And secondly, because the consciousness of imitation presupposes the knowledge of both the imitated and the imitation. But the basic mental state of the imitated historic person, the spectator cannot be supposed to know, because of his being very far distant in time. As for its knowledge through literature, Śaṅkuka himself holds, as we have already stated, that language can give only a conventional image of basic mental state of ordinary run, but not the ideal one.

The second argument disposes of the second point of view, namely, does the actor imitate? For, just as a spectator requires the knowledge of the imitated

to have the consciousness of imitation, so does the actor to imitate. But just as the one cannot have it, so cannot the other either.

Leaving aside the external factors which are responsible for the consciousness of imitation, if we analyse spectator's consciousness of basic mental state caused by dramatic presentation, we find that consciousness is not of an imitated emotion but that of a real one. For, if we take the inference of the basic mental state as the inference of an effect from the cause, the situation, or as of a cause from the effect, the mimetic changes, or as of a major term from that which is invariably concomitant with it, the inferred mental state would be the real basic mental state and not an imitation of it. It cannot be urged that the situation etc. are real only in the case of the historic imitated, but in that of the hero on the stage, they are only creations of art. Therefore, the basic mental state also, that is inferred from them, would be only that of the artistic imitation of the real. For, then the exponent of the imitation theory will be asked whether the situation etc., as artificially presented on the stage, appear to the spectator to be artificial or real. In the former case, inference of basic mental state will be impossible. In the latter, the consciousness of the inferred being an imitation will be out of question.

Nor can the exponent support his position as follows:—

It is a well-known fact that scorpions come into being in two ways. They are not only born but also spring from cowdung preserved under certain condition. The two, the one born and the other sprung from cowdung, differ in certain respects, so that an expert eye can know the origin from appearance. Thus from

effects, apparently similar, different causes are inferred by experts. Therefore, in the same way, from the artificial situation presented on the stage the inference of an artificial basic mental state is but natural to a man of critical judgment.

For, this is an indefensible position. The possibility of inference of different causes from two effects apparently similar, we do not dispute in those cases where there is real material causal relation, as between scorpion and cowdung. But where there is no causal relation of what is similar to the effect with what simply has similarity with the cause, the inference is not possible. Heap of China roses (Japā-Kusuma), for instance, looks very much like fire; so does the mist like smoke. But does a man, knowing the mist as such, infer heap of China roses from it? The inference, therefore, of basic mental state as an imitation from the perception of artificiality of the situation, etc., is impossible.

(iii) From the point of an impartial analyst of the dramatic presentation also, the basic mental state is not an imitation, but is identical reaction to the situation etc. (anuvyavasāya) due to identification with the historic, through the instrumentality of the situation, etc. as we shall show in the following pages dealing with Abhinava's aesthetic theory.

(iv) As regards the alternative that the imitation theory is based upon the authority of Bharata, we have to say only this, that there is no passage in the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, which, taken in proper context, supports the imitation theory. All relevant passages establish the identical reaction (anuvyavasāya) theory. Thus Śaṅkuka's theory that aesthetic object is an imitation is unsound from all points of view.

Criticism of the Imitative Judgment

In respect of the aesthetic judgment consequent upon cognition of the aesthetic object also, his theory is equally unsound. According to him Rasa is a judgment. It is an expression of the consciousness which cannot be classed with any one of the well-known different forms of consciousness. But this is an indefensible position. For, if the consciousness of the aesthetic object, as expressed in judgment implies the consciousness of the presence of Rāma at the time of presentation only, it is a valid cognition, because it is not contradicted by any subsequent cognition. But if it is subsequently contradicted, then certainly it is wrong knowledge. And even if there is no contradiction, it will in reality be only wrong knowledge. Therefore, the judgment, as stated above, cannot be expression of consciousness of a peculiar type, because there is no such consciousness.

Sāṅkhya Theory of Aesthetics

Another theory, that is summarily treated, is the one that was advanced in the light of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. According to this, there is causal relation between the situation etc. and the basic mental state. The former constitute the sum total of external causes and are responsible for the being of the latter, which is essentially an inner state of pleasure or pain. Obviously the exponents of this theory took the basic mental state to be identical with aesthetic experience. Hence, they have gone not only against the fact of experience, but also against the textual authority of Bharata, according to whom the two[1] are very distinct from each other.

Criticism of the Earlier Theories

We have so far discussed two theories (1) the theory of inference, which is apparently from the point of

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[1] *A.Bh.* 278.

view of the Naiyāyika, and (ii) the Śāṅkhya theory of aesthetics. The common question which can be raised about them is whether the basic mental state (Sthāyibhāva), according to them, is cognised in the actor or arises in the spectator. Neither of the two positions is defencible.

For, in the former case this cognition, being in no way different from ordinary wordly cognitions, will naturally arouse ordinary attitudes and responses. And admission of this will mean denial of an independent value to art.

In the latter case, that is, if we admit the rise of basic mental state in the spectator, it will mean the condemnation of all tragic presentation, for, in that case, we will have to admit the rise of the tragic feeling of sorrow in the spectator.

In fact subjective rise of a basic mental state from the art presentation is not possible.

The reason may be stated as follows:--

Suppose we are attempting psycho-epistemically to account for the rise of Rati (love) from the presentation of Rāma and Sītā on the stage.. How can love arise in the spectator? For, Sītā has not the same value to him as she had to Rāma. The spectator does not look upon Sītā as an object of love. In fact, the historical and religious associations, which surrounded the personality of Sītā, will prevent the rise of such feeling from such a presentation.

New Technique

The common criticism of the above theories is that even if the psycho-philosophical objections be waved, no man, who has had the aesthetic experience, will agree that they give a true picture of the experience. Aesthetic presentation is never the cause of painful feeling. Tragedies also enliven. It does not arouse those responses

which the real does. This needs explanation. Hence the adoption of a new technique is not applicable to ordinary worldly experience.

It may be stated as follows:

This new technique was adopted by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. According to him, as according to all his predecessors in the field of aesthetics, the aesthetic experience is due to objective cognition of the presented. Unlike, however, his predecessors, he maintains, and rightly too, that both, the cognising self and the cognised object, are free from all limitations that give individuality. And the resultant subjective state, is, according to him, a state of perfect rest of the self within itself because of the predominance of the quality of Sattva and total relegation into the background of the qualities of Rajas and Tamas. Hence that state is characterised by absence of all conscious physical, psychological and volitional activities and so freedom from all attachment to and aversion of all that can enter into consciousness.

The reason is obvious. All volitional and so conscious psychophysical activities are due to the predominance of Rajas. Similarly, all lack of consciousness is due to Tamas. All knowledge, however, and consequent state of rest of the self,[2] in which happiness consists, is due to Sattva. The Rajas and Tamas being overwhelmed by Sattva and so volitional, psychological and conscious physical activities being out of question[3] and the state of ignorance being impossible, there arises a state of the self as described above.

His Basic Assumptions

He maintains that the language has got three powers:

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[2] *I.P.V.* Vol. I, 255, 257. [3] *Bh.G.* XIV, 5-9.

1. *Abhidhā*, that is, the power to arouse the conventional image, associated with a word, in the mind of the hearer.

2. *Bhāvakatva*, the power which frees the presented, the aesthetic object, from all relations in which a similar object in ordinary life stands, and so universalises it.

3. *Bhojakatva*, the power which throws the two qualities of the percipient of the aesthetic object, namely, Rajas and Tamas, into the background and brings the Sattva to the forefront.

The quality of Sattva is thus brought into predominance, according to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, by the last of the said powers technically called *Bhojakatva*. The last two powers he attributes to the poetic language in addition to the generally accepted *Abhidhā*, the power of giving rise to the conventional image. The second of the said powers, namely *Bhāvakatva*, also co-operates with the last in bringing about this state, inasmuch as it frees the presented from all limitations and so universalises it. Thus the Rajas does not work because the presented is free from all limitations and is universalised. The presented is thus incapable of giving rise to any desire to gain or shun it. And desire being the motive force of all psycho-physical activities the latter cannot take place. Rajas is thus relegated into background. As for the Tamas, it can be as little effective at the time when the Sattva is working, as darkness can be in the presence of light. Hence there arises a state of simple awareness or consciousness of the presented which is akin to the mystic experience of the Brahman in so far as it is a conscious state, but free from all volitional, psychological and physical activities. It is, however, different from the mystic experience of the Brahman, because it is a limited experience, though without the consciousness of limitation at the time when it takes

place. It cannot be classed with the ordinary experiences got through perception or remembrance, etc., because it is not a determinate cognition, inasmuch as there is no determinative activity of carving an image out of the presented. Nor is it indeterminate because there is the subsequent recollection of this experience.

Thus according to this school the aesthetic experience is the experience of the universalised basic mental state (Sthāyibhāva) in the state of *perfect Bliss* due to the predominance of Sattva.

Its Contribution

The problem aroused by the imitation-inference theory was "if the basic mental state is known objectively as associated with the imitated individual on the stage, why is there no rise of the natural attitudes and responses due to the objective cognition?" This new theory explains the non-rise by presenting the cognising subject above the response level, inasmuch as the power to respond, the Rajas, is perfectly in operative, because of the universalisation of the presentation by the assumed particular power of the poetic language called *Bhāvakatva*. Response is due to the cognition of the particular, that being absent, it does not arise. Hence there arises the state of the subject with the predominance of Sattva in which the *Bliss* consists.

The constituents of the experience therefore, according to this theory, are the universalised subject and the universalised object, the basic mental state (Sthāyībhāva).

Its Criticism

1. How are the subject and the object related?

2. How is the object, the basic mental state, dissociated from the situation, cognised?

(*To be continued*)

SIR JOHN SHORE, A FRIEND OF THE POOR

By S. N. Sen

Kanharadāsa, a Brahman youth of Gwalior came to Benares in the eighties of the eighteenth century, to complete his education. He had brought some money with him to defray his expenses and when his slender funds were exhausted, earned an easy living, as many of his fellow students in like circumstances doubtless did, by reciting the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* to the devout people of the holy city. Lodging probably offered no serious difficulty to a Brahman seeker of learning in those charitable days. When the first of the following letters was penned Kanharadāsa used to lodge at the Daranagar residence of Mānkumārī in the neighbourhood of Vṛddhakāleśwara temple.[1] Mānakumārī seems to have been a lady of affluence as she was the *guru* of Raja Chait Singh's mother.[2] Kanharadāsa probably joined the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā founded by Jonathan Duncan in 1792,[3] for reference is made to the professors in charge of the Pāṭhaśālā in the second letter. The course of studies that he had chosen for his own was a lengthy one. The hardworking Brahman was already 26 and had yet five years to complete his favourite studies. He

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1 On Vṛddhakāleśwara temple see Sheering—*Sacred City of the Hindus* and Nevill, *Gazetteer of the Benares District*. The temple lies just to the north of Bisheshwarganj, close by the old tank known as 'Har Tīratha' (Haratīrtha) and is reported to be one of the oldest Hindu edifices in Benares.

2 I.e. widow of Raja Balavanta Sinha. Her name is not known, but she is probably the same lady whom R. N. Rattray referred to in his letter dated 23 March 1813 to John Mockton (*I.R.D. Foreign Misc. Series* No. 76.)

3 On this point see my article in the *Journal of G. N. Jha Research Institute, Vol. I Pt.* 3.

had not started his scholastic career late. Seven diligent years, three at his native city and four at a now-forgotten seat of learning, Siṁhudā, had he devoted to the cultivation of his mind before he turned his ambitious steps towards the farfamed seminaries at the confluence of Varuṇā and Asī. There he had spent another nine years of studious labour and if things had gone well he might have commenced the struggle for worldly existence armed with a Benares Degree at the youthful age of thirty one! Happily the Universities of to-day are less exacting and release their alumni much earlier! At twenty six an unforeseen misfortune befell our student. His arduous labours had evidently told upon his health and half an hour's writing and an hour's reading would cause severe headache and the weary eyes of the unhappy patient would start profusely streaming. Strive as he might he could not even glance through the learned times he had so assiduously perused. Such medical remedies as his means permitted proved of little avail. When at the tether's end he sought inspiration from his favourite *Śāstras* and concluded that to the ruler of the land alone could he turn for succour in his distress, for had not Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself observed in the second half of the tenth section of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* that it is the supreme duty of the King to relieve the distressed. Charity finds its own reward in untarnished fame in this world and eternal bliss in the next. Witness the glorious instances of Hariścandra, Rantideva, Mudgala, Śibi, Bali and the charitable pigeon. To Kanharadāsa Sir John Shore was a "*swarāṭ*" a king in his own right, a *bhūpa* a ruler of the realm and the Governor-General was above all the only refuge of the learned (*viduṣāmekamāśrayaṃ*). He, therefore, addressed two letters to Sir John Shore imploring his assistance in his afflictions. If the Governor-General condescended to recommend the poor suppli-

cant to a European officer at Benares the latter would probably provide for his food and clothing as well as for the treatment of his eyes. If his ailments were cured he proposed to complete his studies in five years and wherever he might subsequently go his blessings would for ever attend the Governor-General whose eulogies he would everywhere sing. If perchance his sight did not improve he would spend his remaining years at Benares ever praying for the well-being of his benefactor. Although he was not in any way acquainted with Sir John the fame of his sympathy for the indigent induced him to present his case for the Governor-General's consideration.

The letters bear no date but from an entry in English at the end it appears that the first was received on the 8th November 1796 (probably) at the resident's office at Benares and it reached the headquarters a week later. This conjecture corroborated by the second letter, for *Kārtikasudi aṣṭamī* corresponds to the 8th November. The second letter arrives at Calcutta on the 30th May of the next year. Kanharadāsa gratefully acknowledges Sir John's kindness and refers to his visit to Benares on his way to Lucknow in January 1797 (*Pauṣamāsasya saptamyāṃ guruvāsare*). The third and the last of the series addressed to the members of the Supreme Council (received on the 22nd May 1798) after Sir John Shore had relinquished office and sailed for home (12th March 1798) also proves that the poor Brahman's prayer did not go unheeded. The paper on which it was written testifies to the improvement in the writer's finances for unlike the previous epistles it is liberally bespangled with tiny diamonds in gold. The gratitude of the Brahman had meanwhile elevated Shore to the rank and status of an emperor and he tells the Councillors that the Governor-General had made some provision for him at Benares

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wherefrom he had derived considerable benefit. Subsequently, great favours were conferred on him by the sovereign of Bundelkhand who also entrusted him with some presents for Sir John Shore. He, however, learnt that Sir John had left for home and requested the Councillors to direct him as to whom and where the presents should be delivered.

Few, if any, student, however poor, would to-day dream of bringing his woes to the notice of so exalted a personage as the Governor-General. But in the early days of the British empire in India the Governor-Generals did not rule in splendid seclusion. The European community even in the presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay was very small and tradition demanded that the first executive officer in the land should not be entirely indifferent to the sorrows and joys of the Indian notables. Thus, when a marriage was celebrated in an aristocratic family of Calcutta or an heir was born to a nobleman of Murshidabad the Governor-General was expected to send a letter of congratulations and the customary *khelat*. Even an opulent banker of Benares was consoled in his bereavement with a sympathetic letter and a robe of honour from the Governor-General.[4] Benares was in those days far off from Calcutta but the highest officials were not less accessible to the poorest citizens than they are to-day. The civil servants of the East India Company had perforced to spend their best years in India and during their long sojourn they learnt to respect the customs and traditions of the country. It is to be noted that not one of the three letters bearing the name of Kanharadāsa was accompanied by an English translation. We have a Persian

[4] *See Calendar of Persian Correspondence* Vol. VII No. 1214.

version of the first but the other two were unprovided with any such key. Sir John Shore was well-versed in the ancient lores of the east. He was no stranger to the charms of Persian poetry or the sublime speculations of Hindu philosophy. Once he actually contemplated an English translation of the *Yoga-Vāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* and his correspondence bears ample testimony to his profound knowledge of the classics.[5] It was in recognition of his uncommon erudition that the Governor-General had been elected to succeed Sir William Jones as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Sir John Shore could very well be expected to appreciate the five laudatory verses with which Kanharadāsa prefaced his first letter and when the number of the verses was increased to nine in the second, the ardent student of oriental styles was probably satisfied as to his correspondent's merit and worth. The student paid no formal compliment to his noble benefactor when he addressed Sir John Shore as *vidvajjana-kamalakula-prakāśanamārtaṇḍamūrtti*.

Did Kanharadāsa appeal to his natural liege lord in the first instance? We do not know. Daulat Rao Sindhia was a powerful prince but in November 1796 he was away from his capital. The future of the Maratha empire and the ruling house of Poona was then hanging in the balance and the heir of Mahadaji Sindhia could not afford to remain an indifferent spectator. In his own interest he had to play an important part in the making and unmaking of governments and then followed in quick succession a dispute for the Holkar's *musnad* and the rebellion of the Bais. From 1796 to 1798 Daulat Rao was too occupied with the distracting prob-

[5] *Dictionary of National Biography* Vol. XVIII and *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth*. Vol. I.

lems of the Maratha state to attend to the needs of an ailing student at Benares. It is extremely doubtful whether Kanharadāsa's letter, if one was ever addressed, could reach the ruler of Gwalior in far off Deccan.

Who was the King of Bundelkhand who befriended the indigent Brahman? There were more than a dozen Bundela principalities, big and small. Some of them acknowledged the political suzerainty of the Sindhia, others were directly under the Peshwa's hegemony. It may not be profitable at this distance of time to speculate about the identity of the prince whose munificence led the grateful scholar to indulge in undue exaggeration, that identified a part with the whole. But one may perhaps be permitted to hazard a guess. Hirde Shah, the founder of the ruling house of Panna, bore the title of Raja of Bundelkhand and Dhokul Singh, his descendant, might by right of inheritance claim that dignity. He was, however, completely under the domination of Ali Bahadur, Nawab of Banda, and representative of the Poona government in Bundelkhand. Chhatrasal Bundela professed to treat Baji Rao I as one of his sons and had formally bequeathed one third of his territories to the Brahman general. Ali Bahadur, as the Peshwa's grandson, might be appropriately styled as *Bundalekhaṇḍākhya-rāṣṭrādhīśa*. This hypothesis further gains in strength if Sinhuḍā of the first letter is identified with Singhora, a village in the Panna state. That it was once a place of some importance cannot be gainsaid, for, no less than five unidentified collosi have been discovered here.[6] Ali Bahadur, an heir of Brahman tradition, a representative of a Brahman state might have befriended a Brahman student who once prosecuted his studies at Singhora.

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[6] Luard—*Eastern States Gazetteer*, Vol. VIA.

We do not know whether Kanharadāsa employed a skilled scribe to write his petition to so high a personage as the Governor-General. The letters form good specimens of Devanagari calligraphy and seem to be in the same hand. The writing is neat and legible but the text is not entirely free from slips of pen. One peculiar use of a purely Sanskrit word deserves particular notice specially as the writer happened to be a genuine student of Sanskrit. Kanharadāsa calls his letter an *ārjavapatra*, but *ārjava* used in its original sense is hardly appropriate. On the other hand if it is treated as a sanskritised form of a common Persian word, *araj*, it fully accords with the real character of the letters. Kanharadāsa exercises the time honoured prerogative of a Brahman when he offers his benedictions to the Governor-General and his councillors irrespective of their age, rank and status.

I

श्री:

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनि-मंडलमंडन-विद्वज्जन-मं[ड]ली-विराजमान-सर्वजन-हृदयाह्ला-
दक-प्रख्यापित-कीर्त्ति-तरंगिणी-धवलीकृताशेष-दिगंतरालेषु
श्रीमत्सदाचार-विविधशास्त्र-विचार-विनिर्जित-परमोदार-विद्वज्जन-गोष्ठयलंकारेषु परम-
सद्बुद्धि-विस्तार-विस्तारितालौकिक-पराक्रमाक्रामितानेक-
वलवद्धराधीश-मौलि-लसन्मुकुट-[म]णि-विस्फुरत्कांति-कनकमय-कोश-दानातिशय-महोदार-
शुभ-गुण-गणागार-धर्म-भारेषु प्रबलतर-हय-गज-रथ-
पदाति-प्रताप-विध्वंसित-प्रचंडाकांड-प्रोद्दंडाराति-चय-चमू-लब्ध-यश-आधारेषु निखिल-
मुख-समाज-विराजमानामात्याद्युपहारीकृत-कनकमय-
नागाश्व-शिविकादि-शुभायित-द्वारेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्री-सर्जन-सोर-साह्वेषु कंन्हरदासस्या-
शिषां राशयो विलसंतुतराम् शमस्त्यत्र[7] दयासिंधो श्रैम-
तं तदहर्निशं आशासे स्वःसरित-पाथो-वगाहादिक्षणेष्वहम्[8] १ प्रजा-संरक्षणे दक्षं विदुषा-
मेकमाश्रयं नयज्ञं निर्जराः सर्वे रक्षंतु त्वां समर्चिताः २

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[7] Read 'शमस्त्वत्र'

[8] This and the following verses are in the *anuṣṭubh* metre.

याभूद्राज-परंपरा नरपति-श्रीविक्रमार्कात्प्रभृत्यद्यावध्यवनी-पुरंदर[9] वयं कुत्रापि नैतादृशीं
नीतिं शुश्रुम यादृशी निरुपमा निर्व्याज-निर्लोभतारुपा
त्वय्यवलोक्यतेखिल-जनानंदैक-कंदः प्रभो ३ [10]प्रसरदतुल-कीर्त्तिः कामना- कामकुंभः
द्विषदिभ-कुल-सिंहः सर्जन-सौरभूपः क्षिति-परिवृट-चू-
डा-रत्न-नीराजितांघ्रिर्गुणि-नयन-चकोरानंदथु-ग्लौ-समानः ४ [11]जयत् जयिजनानाम-
ग्रणीरग्रणीषु प्रबल-पर-कुकूलः कीर-तुंडाभ-पार्ष्णिः परम-निय-
ति-पूर्णः प्रीणित-प्रार्थि-पूगः सकल-महिधगणां मौलिमालायमानः ५ अथ स्वोदंतो मया
साक्षादेव श्रीमति निवेद्यते तद्यथा निवेशनमस्माकं गुवालि-
यराख्ये नगरे अभिधानं च कन्हरदास इति वयश्च षड्विंशति-वार्षिकं श्रीवाराणस्यां
दारानगरे वृद्धकालेश्वर-संनिधौ राज्ञश्चेतसिंह-मातुः[12] सद्गुरुः (sic)
श्रीमानक्-
मारीति तस्या गृह इदानीं निवसामि वर्षत्रयं स्व-सदने चतुरः संवत्सरान् सिंहुडाख्ये
नगरे नववर्षाणि च वाराणस्यां महताप्रयासेनाहर्दिवं शास्त्रमधीत्य
स्थितमिदानीं नयनयोः कश्चिद्व्याधिराविरासीत् यद्वशादग्रेऽधीतमपि शास्त्रमवलोकितुं
न शक्नोम्यग्रेचाध्येतुं घटिकार्द्धं लेखने घटिमात्रंच
पठने लोचनाभ्यां पानीयं निःसरति शिरसि च वेदनोत्पद्यते यथासामर्थ्यं चिकित्सा मया
कारिता सांप्रतं तु चिकित्सां कारयितुं न शक्नुमोऽर्किंचनत्वात् ततो
महती चिंता जायते यदग्रे मम किं भविष्यसि (sic) कोवा मां पालयिष्यतीति
शास्त्रे इत्थमुपलभ्यते यत्पंडितं दीनं दुःखिनं च राजा पालयतीति उक्तं
च श्रीमद्भाग-
वते एष राज्ञां परो धर्मो ह्यार्त्तानामार्त्तिनिग्रह इति एतद्धर्मवतां फलंतु दशम-स्कंधे
उत्तरार्द्धे भगवता कृष्णेन स्वयमुक्तं हरिश्चन्द्रो[13] रंतिदेव[14]
उंछवृत्तिः[15] [16]शिविर्बलिः[17]

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[9] Should read 'पुरंदरः'. The visarga has evidently been omitted for the sake of metre.

[10] The metre is *Śardūlavikrīḍita.*

[11] This as well as the next verse is in *mālinī*.

[12] A case of सापेक्षत्वेऽपि गमकत्वात् समासः

[13] Rāmāyaṇa I, *Mahābhārata* II, 12; III, 77, *Bhāgavata*. IX, 7, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* VII, 9.

[14] *Bhāgavata* IX, 21. The story occurs in a slightly different form in the Nakulākhyānaṃ (*Mahābhārata* XIV, 90).

[15] *Mahābhārata* XIV, 92. 6.

[16] Śibi-caritam—*Mahābhārata* III, 197 and Śyena-kapotīya *Mahābhārata* III, 130-131.

[17] *Bhāgavata* VII, 22; and *Mahābhārata* II, 47; III, 272.

व्याध:[18] कपोतो बहवो ह्यध्रुवेण ध्रुवं गता इति अस्येयं व्याख्या चक्रवर्ती हरिश्चंद्रो-
र्थिनोर्थ-संपादनाय भार्यात्मजादि-सर्वं विक्रीय स्वयं चांडाल-दासतां
प्राप्तोप्यनिर्विण्ण: सहायोध्यावासिभिर्जनै: स्वर्गं गत: राजारंतिदेव: सकुटुंबोष्टचत्वारिंश-
दहान्यलब्धोदकोपि कथंचिल्लब्धान्नोदकार्थिभ्यो दत्वा ब्र-
ह्मलोकं गत: उञ्छवृत्तिर्मुद्गल: षण्मासं सीदत्कुटुंबोप्यातिथ्यदानेन ब्रह्मलोकं गत:
उशीनरदेशाधिपति: शिवि: शरणागत-कपोत-रक्षणाय स्वमांसं श्येनाय
दत्वा दिवं गत: स्वर्गमभिव्याप्य सार्वभौमो बलि: सर्वस्वं ब्राह्मणवेषधारिणे हरये
दत्वा तमेवात्मसाच्चकार कपोतश्चातिथये व्याधाय कपोत्या सहात्म-मांसं
दत्वा विमानेन दिवं गत: एवमन्ये च बहवोऽध्रुवेण शरीरेण ध्रुवं लोकं गता इत्यलं
किंतु तादृश: पृथ्वी-पालक इदानीं दुर्लभतरो यो दीनानाथेषु दयां
कुर्यात् श्रीमतात्वत्रत्य-जनता-महाजन-पंडित-दीन-दु:खि-प्रभृति: सर्वापि संतोषिता सती
प्रतिवीथि प्रतिद्वारं प्रतिगृहं स्वर्ग-तरंगिणी-रोधसि च श्रीमतं यशो
गायति यत्स्वराट् श्रीसर्जन-सोर-साहब: कंपनीगृहे साक्षाद्धर्ममूर्त्तिधरो दाता शरण्यश्च
अतो महाराज वाराणस्यां कञ्चित्साहवं प्रतीत्थं लिखितुमर्हथ यन्मम भोजना-
च्छादनयो: परामर्श कुर्यात् नेत्रयोश्च चिकित्सां कारयेत्
ततो निवृत्ते नेत्ररोगे पंचसंवत्सरंवे[19] (sic) शास्त्रं परिसमाप्य यत्र यत्र गमिष्यामि
तत्र तत्र श्रीम-
ते आशिष: प्रयोक्ष्यामि कीर्त्तिं च गास्यामि अथ कदाचिन्नरोग-निवृत्तिस्तर्हि यावज्जीवं काश्यां
निवसन् श्रीमत: शुभं चिन्तयिष्यामि यद्यपि श्रीमन्महाराज
केनोपि (sic) द्वारेण श्रीमता सहास्माकं परिचितिर्नास्ति तथापि श्रीमतीं दीनदयालुतां
श्रुत्वार्जवपत्रं लिखितं यद्भवान्सर्वथास्मान् दयिष्यत इत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पेष्विति यशो (sic)
श्रीमन्महाराज विपुलं तव विद्यते सकलं लेखितुं[20] (Sic) कोहि शक्नुयादुदरंभरि:

Benares 8th November 1796 (*O.R.* 15*th Nov.* 1796 *No.* 456.)

II

श्री:

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनिमण्डलमण्डनविहितदिग्विजयवादीन्द्रवृन्दमर्दनविद्वज्जनकमल-
कुलप्रकाशनमार्त्तण्डमूर्त्तिषु सदा-
चाराचरणपरिलब्धगरिष्ठप्रतिष्ठावशीकृतसज्जनगणगीयमानयशश्चन्द्रकरधवलीकृतजगत्-
त्रितयेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीस्वराट् (sic) सर्जन–

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[18] Vyādhakapotākhyānam (*Mahābbārata*—XII, 243-248).

[19] Read 'संवत्सरमध्ये'

[20] Read 'लिखितु'

सोरसाहवेषु कन्हरदासस्याशिषां राशयः समुल्लसन्तुतराम् प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालबालवनिता-
सीमन्तसिन्दूरिकालुण्टाकप्रकटप्रता-
पतपनप्रोद्भासिताशामुखः सर्वाङ्गं रुचिरश्चिराय जयतात्
सद्भूपचूडामणिः शीलौदार्यविवेकधैर्यनिलयः श्रीसर्जनः सोरराट् १[21]
अतलितगुणराशिख्यातनामप्रवर्हः प्रतिदिवसवितीर्णप्रीणितप्राणिपूगः
विशदतरयशोब्जाभीशुभिर्धौतविश्वो नयगुणजितवे-
णु[22]वेंणुगीतावदातः[23] २ उदन्तस्तु महाराज यन्मयार्जवपत्रिका प्रेषिता
कार्त्तिकसुदि अष्टम्यां श्रीमदन्तिके[24] १ तां विलोक्य प्रजानाथश्री-
मता करुणावता श्रीकाश्यां प्रेषितं पत्रं मद्वृत्तिज्ञप्तिहेतवे २ काशीस्थाः
पण्डिताः श्रीमत्पाठशालाधिकारिणः तेषां समीपे निखिलामद्वृ-
त्ति विदिताभवत् ३ पौषमासस्य सप्तम्यां शुक्लायां गुरुवासरे अनन्तरं
भवान् काशीमलंकर्त्तुमुपागतः ४ तस्मिन्नवसरे मेभूदत्युत्कण्ठा-
भिनन्दने आशीर्भिः किन्तु भवतस्त्वरासीत्पश्चिमांदिशं ५ गन्तुन्ततो-
मयालोचि पुनरागमने सति दर्शनार्थं गमिष्यामीत्येतन्नागमनं ह्य-
भूत् ६ श्रीकाश्यां भवतो राजन्नत आर्जववेदिका पत्रिका लिख्यते भूयस्तां
भवाञ्छ्रोतुमर्हति ७ यदाहं वाराणस्यामागतो गुवलि-
यरात्तदा व्ययार्थं किंचिद्द्रव्यमासीत्तद्वशादधीत्य स्थितः यदा तद्द्रव्यं
समाप्तं तदा श्रीभागवतवाचनेनात्मवृत्ति कुर्वन्नासं
यत्प्रभृति नेत्रयोर्व्याधिराविरासीत्तदादि किमपि कर्त्तुं न शक्नोमि
घटिमात्रं पठने लोचनाभ्यां पानीयं निःसरति शिरसि च वेद-
नोत्पद्यत एतदत्रत्याः पण्डिताः नगरस्थलोकाश्च सर्वं जानंति यत्प्रभृति
श्रीमता महाराजेन मत्प्रवृत्तिः शोधिता तत्प्रभृति
वह्वीः शुभाशिषः श्रीमते प्रयुञ्जान आशासे यत्प्रेष्यपरंपराद्वारा
मच्छोधनं भवद्भिः कारितं तद्वो युक्ततरमेव उक्तंच श्रीमद्भा-
गवते एतावान हि प्रभोरर्थो यद्दीन-परिपालनमित्यतो महाराज
कंपनीगृहे साक्षाद्धर्ममूर्त्तिधरं सार्वभौमं भवन्तमिदमेव या-
चे यच्छ्रीमुखात्किंचिन्मदर्थंमत्रत्यान्प्रत्याज्ञप्यतां यल्लब्ध्वालब्ध्वा भोजं
भोजममरधुन्यवगाहनपूर्वकं काश्यां निव-
सन् श्रीमते शुभाशिषः प्रयुञ्जानः स्थास्यामीत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पेषु

30th May 1797 (O.R. 13*th May* 1797, *No.* 296).

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[21] The metre is *Śardūla-vikrīḍita.*

[22] The reference is evidently to the mythic King, Veṇa (also spelt as 'Veṇu' Vide, *Medinī*), father of Pṛthu. (*Mahābhārata* VII, 69; XII, 28; *Bhāgavata* IV, 13; *Viṣṇupurāṇa* I, 23.)

[23] The metre is *mālinī.*

[24] This and the next six verses are in the *anuṣṭubh* metre.

III

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनिमंडलमंडनप्रख्यापितकीर्त्तितरंगिणी धवलीकृ-
ताशेषदिगंतरालेषु श्रीमत्सदाचारविविधशास्त्रविचारविनिर्जितपर-
मोदारविद्वज्जनगोष्ठ्यलंकारेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीकौशलाधिष्ठातृषु कंन्ह-
रदासस्याशिषां राशयो विलसंतुतराम स्वोदन्तो मया निवेद्यते तद्यथानि-
वेशनमस्माकं गुवालियराख्ये नगरेऽभिधानं च कंन्हरदास इति श्रीवाराण-
स्यां दारानगर इदानीं निवसामि महताप्रयासेनाहर्दिवं शास्त्रमधीत्यस्थितं
पुनरेकं मम दुःखंमुपस्थितं यद्वशान्महती चितोत्पन्ना तत इदं विचिंति-
तं यत्स्वदुःखं प्रजानाथे निवेदनीयमिति स्वदुःखं तन्निवेदनमूलभू-
तं शास्त्रं च लिखित्वा सम्राजः श्रीशोरसाहबस्य सविधे कलकत्ताख्यरा-
जधान्यां प्रेषितमासीत तच्छ्रुत्वा ततस्तेन सार्वभौमेन मदर्थं कास्यां
किञ्चिद्यदाज्ञप्तं तेन मम भव्यं जातं इतः परं बुंदेलखंडाख्यराष्ट्राधी-
शस्य चेदानीं मदुपरि महाननुग्रहोस्ति स्वराट (Sic) श्रीशोरसाहबकृते-
राष्ट्रात्तेन किंचित्पारितोषिकं प्रेषितमस्ति तन्मत्सविधेस्ति इ-
दानीं श्रूयते ते तु स्वदेशं प्रस्थिता इत्यत आर्जवपत्रं संदिग्धार्थनि-
र्णयसभापरपर्यायकौशलाधिष्ठातृषु प्रेषितमस्ति ते यदाज्ञापये-
युस्तद्विदधामि यद्याज्ञापयेयुस्तर्हि तत्रैव प्रेषयामि यद्वा वारा-
णस्यामेव कस्यचित्साहबस्य निकटे नयामि सम्राजः श्रीशोरसा-
हबस्यानुकंपातो मम कल्याणमासीदहमप्यहर्निशं तदीयं भव्य
माशासे इदानीं श्रीमद्भिर्यदाज्ञंप्यते तत्करवाणीत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पेषु

Endorsement on the letter—1798/. Recd. 22 May/. For Translation/(sd.) J. Stracey/ Sub-secy/ *In another hand* came by dawk/ without any letter/ accompg therefore/ not to be translated:

OR 22 *May* 1796 *No.* 320).

TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST DOCUMENT

Prosperity

Hail! May the multitudinous blessings of Kanhara-dāsa shed brilliant lustre on the five times blessed Sir John Shore, who is prosperous, is an ornament to the whole orb of the earth, is shining among the society of learned men, is the gladdener of the hearts of all people and who by the river of his established reputation has whitened all the limitless horizons; who is an embellishment to the society of the most distinguished

scholars whom he has overcome by pleasant and polite behaviour and in discourses on diverse sciences;[25] who is generous to the extent of making excessive charities from his treasury abounding in gold and radiant with the brilliant gems of the diadems (wrested) from the heads of numerous mighty kings overpowered by his uncommon prowess, augmented (as it is) by the magnitude of his supremely profound wisdom; who is the abode of a host of virtues and is the upholder of religion; who is the receptacle of the glory derived from the destruction of the hosts of his numerous terrible enemies who suddenly waxed powerful by the valour of his more formidable cavalry, elephantry, chariots and infantry; whose gateways have been rendered auspicious by the golden (images of) elephants, horses and palanquins presented to him by the ministers and other officials who adorn the highest societies in the world.

Verses

Peace attend Your Excellency--Oh! Ocean of compassion, that is what I pray for night and day (and even) while taking my ablution in the waters of the Celestial Stream (1). May all the gods well-worshipped (as they are by me) protect you who are an expert in the governance of people, who are the only refugee of the learned and who are a master of statesmanship (2). (Among) the succession of Kings who became the overlords of this earth from the time of King Vikramārka down to the present day, in no instance have we heard of such a matchless maxim of administration, (a maxim) synonymous

[25] This is no empty compliment. Sir John Shore succeeded Sir william Jones as the president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 22 May 1794 and well might he be called a *vidvajjanagosthyalaṅkāra*. (See *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth* Vol. I.) For his literary contributions to the Society see *Asiatic Researches* Vol. II, 307-22, 283-7, Vol. IV, 331-350.

with artless freedom from avarice, as is observed in your case, O Master, the only source (lit. bulb) of the delight of the entire mankind! (3). Victory to Sir John Shore, the monarch whose unparalleled fame is (ever) expanding; who is the wish-yielding vessel which satisfies all desires; who is the lion to the elephant-herd that his enemies are; around whose feet the crest-jewels of the (subject) chiefs are waved in adoration; who is equal to the moon which delights the Cakora-like eyes of the meritorious (4); who is the foremost among the leading victors; who is a fire for (the cremation of) his formidable foes; whose palms have the colour of the parrot's beak [26]; who is marked for a sublime destiny; (and) by whom all suitors are satisfied and who is like a wreath on the heads of all the rulers of the earth (5).

I beg now to submit my case personally to Your Excellency. This is as follows:—

The city called Gwallior is my home, Kanharadāsa my name, and twenty-six years my age. (There dwells near (the temple of) Vṛddhakāleśwara in Daranagara in the Prosperous Benares the illustrious Mānakumārī, the holy preceptress of Raja Chait Singha's mother. At present I am lodging in her house. Three years did I pass in my own place, four in the town of Simhuḍā and nine in Benares studying each day with great assiduity the religious texts. Lately my eyes have been affected by some malady, in consequence whereof, I am unable to glance over the texts studied before or to make further studies. After (even) half an hour's writing and an hour's reading water starts streaming out of my eyes and severe pain is caused in the head. I got myself medically treated according to my means, but owing to

[26] I.e., because of their having been tinged with the blood of the enemies slain by him.

indigence I cannot now continue (further) treatment. Hence, grave anxieties have arisen in me as to what will happen to me and who will sustain me. It is gathered from the sacred texts that it is the King who maintains the learned, the destitute and the distressed. Thus is written in the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*: "The supreme duty of the King is to relieve the misery of the distressed." The recompense accruing to the observers of this duty has been (thus) described by Lord Kṛṣṇa himself in the last part of the tenth section.

Many like Hariścandra, Rantideva, Uñcchavṛtti (the gleaner), Śibi, Bali, the fowler and the pigeon attained the eternal state by (sacrificing) the ephemeral (body). Illucidation of the above is this:

The paramount monarch, Hariścandra, reached heaven with the entire population of Ayodhyā because, for the satisfaction of a suitor's need he sold away his wife and offspring and all his belongings and remained unmoved even when reduced to the position of a Caṇḍāla's slave.

King Rantideva attained to the Brahmaloka (Brahma's heaven) because he had given away to a beggar whatever food and drink he had with great exertions been able to find although he and his family had been without (even a drink of) water for forty-eight days.

Mudgala, who lived on gleanings entered the Celestial World for having performed the rites of hospitality although his family had been living under great privation for six months (continuously).

Śibi, King of the Uśīnara country, departed to heaven for having given his own flesh to the hawk with a view to saving (the life of) a pigeon who had taken refuge under him.

After having extended his conquest to the Celestial World, the Paramount King, Bali, presented every thing he had to Hari masquerading as a Brāhmaṇa and (thereby) made that god his own.

The cock-pigeon also went with his hen to heaven in a celestial car for having offered his own flesh to the hunter who was his guest. Many people likewise attained the world of the immortals by the sacrifice of the mortal body. But no more. Such rulers are, as are inclined to take pity on the poor and the helpless, however very rare these days. The people of this place, the great and the learned as well as the poor and the distressed who have been rendered happy by you are ever reciting the fame of Your Excellency in every thoroughfare, at every door and in every house and even on the banks of the celestial river thus:—The paramount ruler, Sir John Shore, who is the God of Justice incarnate in the Company's abode, is munificent and an afforder of protection. Therefore, esteemed ruler, you ought to write to some European (Officer) in Benares so that he may make provision for my food and raiment and arrange for the treatment of my eyes. If my eyes are cured I shall complete (my studies of) the sacred texts in five years and wherever I may go I shall continue to send my blessings to Your Excellency and sing your eulogies. If per chance, the ailments are not cured I shall spend all my life at Kāśī and ever meditate on Your Excellency's welfare. Although, O illustrious ruler, I do not happen to be acquainted with Your Excellency in any way whatsoever, yet, being apprised of Your Excellency's generous disposition towards the indigent I am addressing this humble petition (with the hope) that you may show kindness (to me) in all manners. No more (need be said) to one who is almost omniscient.

Wide-spread indeed, O Great ruler, is your fame. Who is the mortal[27] who can recount[28] it in full?

TRANSLATION OF THE SECOND DOCUMENT

Prosperity.

Hail! May the abundant blessings of Kanharadāsa find excessive delight in the five times blessed Sir John Shore, the absolute Sovereign, who is prosperous and is an ornament to the whole of terrestrial globe; who has destroyed a multitude of hostile chiefs in course of his worthily achieved world-conquest; who is the very image of the sun who has caused to bloom the lotus in the shape of the assembly of scholars; whose moon-like fame, (the eulogy of) which is chanted by the worthy people, captivated by the very high reputation secured by the observance of excellent rules of conduct, have illuminated by its rays the three worlds.

Verses

One who has lighted up the faces of the horizons with his sun-like prowess which is manifested by (his) having robbed the young wives of the enemy Kings of the vermillion mark (on their forehead); (he) who is auspicious in all his limbs because of his unending victories, who is the crest-jewel of all the good kings, who is the abode of virtue, generosity, conscientiousness, and fortitude (1); who is excellent because of the reputation which his measureless qualities have established; who entertains crowds of living beings by his daily distribution (of charities); by whom the world has been bathed

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[27] The word '*Udarambhari*' is usually used to denote 'a gourmand'. But here it seems to have been used in its *Yaugic* sense, meaning 'that which fills its stomach (with food)' i.e., 'an animal', 'a mortal'.

[28] Literally, 'write it out.'

in the lustre of his very bright fame which is like a lotus; who has surpassed (even) Veṇu by his proficiency in statecraft and who is resplendent because of the music played on flutes (in his honour);[29] such is the illustrious Sovereign Sir John Shore (2).

My submission is that a humble petition was sent by me to the presence of the illustrious one on the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika (3). Having looked into it the illustrious and merciful protector of the people despatched a note to Benares with the object of providing an allowance for me. (lit. ordering the grant of an allowance to me) (4). All the pandits of Benares who were in charge of the College were apprised of the allowance (sanctioned) for me (5). Thereafter, on Thursday the 7th day of the bright half of the month of Pauṣa you arrived to adorn the city of Benares[30] (6). On that occasion, a great longing arose in me for greeting you with my blessings. But as you were in a hurry to proceed West-ward[31] (5), it was decided by me that I should pay a visit to you on your return, which did not, however, materialise (6). I am, therefore, my Lord, again addressing a letter testifying to (my) humility, to which you ought to listen (7).

When I came to Benares from Gwallior I had some money with me for defraying my expenses, by reason

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[29] The meaning is not at all happy. The other alternative would be to follow the author of the *Vaijayantī* and to take the word 'Veṇu' to mean the 'Vedas'. In that case the expression should be rendered as 'resplendent because of the chanting of the Vedas', hardly an improvement.

[30] 5th January 1797. The date is evidently wrong. Shore did not reach Benares till the evening of the 5th February, which corresponds to Sunday, the 8th day of the bright half of the month of Māgha. (Shore to Speke, dated Benares 7th February —*Pol. Cons. 20th February* 1797 No. 68.

[31] Shore left Benares for Lucknow on the 10th February (Shore to Speke, dated Jaunpore, 12th February 1797.—*Pol. Cons. 20th Feby.* 1797 No. 69.)

whereof, I could continue my studies. When that money was exhausted I earned my livelihood by reciting the holy *Bhāgavata*. But ever since my eyes were afflicted I am not being able to do anything whatsoever. Even an hour's reading causes water to stream out of the eyes and also pain in the head. The professors of the locality as well as the residents of the city are all well aware of this (fact). Engaged as I have been in offering benedictions to Your Excellency since the date when you, Oh illustrious monarch, were pleased to improve my affairs, I feel that it has been very proper indeed that Your Excellency provided for my advancement through the agency of a succession of your servants. It is written in the Holy *Bhāgavata* that the King possesses all the funds necessary for the relief of the destitute. Therefore, do I pray of you, O great ruler, who is the universal sovereign and is the veritable image of the god of justice (established) in the Company's abode, that you may by (your) blessed lips issue in my behalf, instructions to the local officers for (the grant of) a little (as allowance), by becoming a regular recepient of which I may pass my days in great enjoyment at Benares, having (regular) baths in the Celestial river and offering auspicious benedictions to Your Excellency. No more (need be said) to one who is almost omniscient.

TRANSLATION OF THE THIRD DOCUMENT

Hail! May the multitudinous blessings of Kanharadāsa shine brilliantly on the five times blessed members[32] of the (Supreme) Council, who are prosperous, and are the ornament (as it were) to the whole of the terrestrial globe; the river of whose widely-circulated fame has whitened the limitless horizons and who are an

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32 The names of the Members are:—Lt. General Sir A. Clarke, P. Speke, and W. Cowper.

adornment to the assembly of the most distinguished scholars whom they have overcome by pleasant and polite courtesies as well as in discourses on diverse sciences. I beg to submit my case, which is as follows:—

The City of Gwallior is my home, and Kanharadāsa my name. I am now residing in Daranagar in the Holy Benares. I had been passing (my time) studying, night and day, the sacred texts with great assiduity but subsequently a misfortune befell me, in consequence of which, great anxieties were caused. Thereupon, I came to the conclusion that an account of my distress should be submitted to the ruler of the people. My misery and the texts justifying its representation being committed to writing were submitted to Mr. Shore, the esteemed ruler at his capital named Calcutta. Some provision was ordered for me by that Paramount ruler on his having heard of the matter, in consequence of which my welfare was secured. The ruler of the principality named Bundelkhand has since become favourably disposed towards me. Some presents have been sent by him for the illustrious Mr. Shore, from his own territories. That is lying with me. It is now heard that he (Mr. Shore) has left for his native land. Therefore, has this humble petition been addressed to the members of the Council who rightly constitute the Supreme authority for deciding all doubtful points. I shall carry out whatever they may be pleased to direct. I shall forward it to them, if so they desire; otherwise I shall hand it over to some European gentleman at Benares. My well-being was due to the sympathy of the emperor, illustrious Mr. Shore. I also pray for his prosperity day and night. Now let me do what the Hon'ble gentlemen direct. No more (need be said) to those who are almost omniscient.

AN ANALYSIS OF VERBAL FORMS OF MAITHILI.

By Subhadra Jha

1. *Introductory*

The verb of Maithilī consists of a base and a personal termination. Except in the case of verbal forms derived from the OIA, past and present participles, not followed by a personal termination, the distinction of gender is never maintained. The conception of number is totally absent from Maithilī verb. The verb is rather a complete sentence, for it defines not only the action but also the person of the doer as is the case with Sanskrit verb. It goes one step further inasmuch as it defines the person spoken of in the sentence. Thus, on one hand the disappearance of distinction of number and to some extent non-existence of gender have made Maithilī verb very simple as compared with Sanskrit or Hindi or Oriya; and on the other hand, it has become very complex on account of inflexion of verbal forms in accordance with the person of the different cases. It is on this account that the verb presents a "stumbling block" to learners of this language, who do not inherit it as their mother tongue. In the present paper an analysis of the constituent elements of the verb of Modern Maithilī has been attempted.

2. *The Root.*

To begin with let us take up the root first. It is either primary or secondary. A primary root of Maithilī is derived from the following sources :—

(i) From the OIA unprefixed roots and bases (present and future) and also OIA causative stems :—

Thus, √हँस, to laugh, Skt. हसति : √जान, to know, Skt. जानाति : √ससर, to move, Skt. सर्सति : √सून,

to hear, Skt. शृणोति : √नाच, to dance, Skt. नृत्यति : √अछ, to be, IE. *eskoti : √देख, to see, Skt. द्रक्ष्यति : √पसार, to spread, Skt. प्रसारयति : √मार, to beat, Skt. मारयति : etc.

(ii) From OIA prefixed roots and verbal stems :— √अकान, to listen to, Skt. आकर्णयति ; √पहिर, to put on, Skt. परिदधाति : √उपज, to grow, Skt. उत्पद्यते: √पहुँच, to reach, OIA *प्रभुच्चति : etc.

(iii) From OIA passive participial forms :— √सूत, to sleep, Skt. सुप्त : √भट, to be destroyed, Skt. भ्रष्ट. etc. Besides, there are number of deśī roots. Thus, √हाँक, to drive.

The secondary roots either of causative or denominative origin :—Thus, √हँसा, to cause to laugh, √देखा, to cause to see; etc. The denominative roots are obtained not only from nouns but from adjectives and indeclinables also, by addition of आ, इआ, आस, अस, आठ, ऐठ, एट, एब, आध, (and एज) to specific class of bases. Thus, √गोरा, to become fairer, from गोर, Skt. गौर : √मनुसा, to feel like a young man, from, मनुस, Skt. मनुष्य : √बतुआ, to co-habit with a he-goat, from बोतू, he-goat : √मँड़िआ, to stiffen with gruel, from माँड़, Skt. मण्ड : √गुमस, to become stuffy, from गुम्म, Skt. ग्रीष्म : √खुटेस, to fasten to a खुट्टा, a small post : √हुराठ, to strike with हूर, pointed end of a club : √चुनेट, to whitewash with चून, lime: √रसाब, to fasten to a rope, from रस्सा, Skt. रश्मि : √गुनेब, to unite the गुणस, brands, of a string, from गून, Skt. गुण : √अङेज, to get accustomed to, from अङ, Skt. अङ्ग : √बहरा, to come out, from बाहर, Skt. बहिः: √चुडाठ, to trouble a man by feeding him flat rice, ie., चूड़ा : √खट्वास, to remain lying on bed, from Skt. खट्वा etc.

Here a mention may be made of Sts. nouns which are used as verbal roots. For instance, √भेद, to make a hole in; √चिन्ह, to recognise, Skt. चिन्ह ; etc.

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* IE. *pra-bheu-ske-ti* ; etc.

3. *Formal Classification of Maithilī roots*

Maithilī roots can be broadly divided into two main classes: (1) Those that end in consonant, (2) and those that end in vowel. The roots of the former class can further be divided into two sub-classes: (i) The roots with two consonants having a long vowel between them, such roots shorten their long root vowel if there is a phonetic necessity. Thus, √बाज, to speak, pres. part. बजैत, but p.p. बाजल: √नीप, to plaster, pres. part. निपैत, but p.p. नीपल; etc. (ii) The roots of the type other than the above. They do not undergo any modification. Thus, √रह, to remain, pres. part. रहैत, p.p. रहल: etc. The roots of the latter class can also be divided into two sub-classes: (iii) Those that take ब to form bases in certain kind of formation. Thus, √पी to drink, pres. part. पिबैत, p.p. पील, पिउल: √छू, to touch, pres. part. छुबैत, p.p. छुइल, छूल; etc. (iv) Those that do not take it. Thus, √खा, to eat, pres. part. खाइत, p.p. खाएल; etc. Here it may be noted that of the roots under class (iii) is derived from MIA —w—, found in words like gāwei, Skt. गायति; sunāwei, Skt. श्रावयति; etc.

4. *The Voice*

There are three voices in Maithilī. The Active, the Passive and the Neuter. The transitive verbs can be used in the first two voices and the intransitive verbs can be used in the first and the third voices. We shall have occasion to speak about it in detail later on.

5. *The Sense of Maithilī Verb*

A Maithilī verb is either active or passive in sense. Thus, हम जाइतछी, I go; खाइत छी, I eat; etc. Here the sense is active. But भात होइत अछि,, rice is being cooked;

गाछ कटैत अछि, tree is being cut; etc. where the sense of the verb is passive.

The words active and passive used here should not be confused with the same words used above under the 'Voice'. In the following pages except in the present case the words are used in the same sense as under the 'Voice.'

6. *The Tenses and Moods*

The three tenses exist in Maithilī. Besides, the indicative, and the imperative inherited from the OIA there have sprung up a number of new moods, which were not found in the OIA. The work of the optative in Maithilī is performed by forms of the indicative derived from the OIA indicative forms. The future indicative of the OIA has remained in the second and the third persons only and now performs the function of the future imperative. So except the present indicative, the present imperative, and the future indicative no mood forms of the OIA have survived in Maithilī.

The tenses are either simple or compound according as they are formed from one, or two, or more roots.

The tenses are either radical or participial, according as they are derived from OIA tense forms or some participial forms.

The following moods are found in Maithilī in tenses as stated below :

A. **Simple Tenses.**

I. The OIA Present Indicative "Radical Tense". The Present Indicative of old Maithilī, (now confined to poetry only), the Present optative, the Present Subjunctive with or without 'if', and the Past Habitual.

So the sentence ओ आवए, in different context may mean 'he comes, may he come, if he come, and he used to come'.

II. Tense derived from the OIA :—Present Tense of the Passive Voice in the third person only now used in the first person in the Active Voice. Present Optative, Present Optative Subjunctive, and Habitual Past. Thus, हम आवी may mean 'I may come, if I come, I used to come' in different context.

III. Tense derived from the OIA sigmatic future:— Future Imperative; in the second and the third persons only : अविहह ' you should come, in future,' कहिहथि 'he should speak in future'.

IV. Present Imperative Tense:—
आवथु, 'let him come.'

V. Tenses originating from the OIA participle bases:—

(a) From the Present Participle.

1. Future Indicative Tense, third person only :— ओ कहताह, 'he will say'.

2. Past Conditional Tense :—ओ कहैत, 'if he had said'.

(b) Tense from the OIA. Past Participle MIA. इल, एल, उल, and अल. Past Tense. आएल, ' he came.'

(c) Tense originating from the Future participle. Future Indicative, in the first and the second persons only : हम आएब ' I shall come.' तों अएबह, ' you will come.'

B. **Compound Tenses with two Roots**

1. From the Present Participle Base √अछ and other substantive verbs :

(a) Present Indicative with अछि, to be, in the Indic Present : देखैत अछि, 'he sees'.

(b) Present Progressive in the Subjunctive with √हो, to be, in the Indic Present खाइत होअए, ' if he be eating.'

(c) Present Presumptive with √हो, to be, in Future : खाइत होएताह, 'presumably he is eating'.

(d) Past Progressive with √अछ in the Past Tense : अबैत छलहुँ, 'I was coming'.

(e) Present Progressive Imperative, with √रह, to remain, in the Imperative : खाइत रहू, 'continue eating.'

(f) Past Habitual and Instantaneous Progressive, and also Present Optative with √रह, in the Indic Present, in the case of second and third Persons only : in the case of the first person (?) remains in the Indic Passive Present. अबैत रही, may mean 'I used to come, may I continue to come, and if I continue to come' in different context.

(g) Future Presumptive or Progressive with √रह, in the Future Indicative : अबैत रहब, 'I shall continue coming or I shall be coming.'

(h) Future Progressive Imperative with √रह, in the Future Imperative, (second and third persons only) : कहैत रहिहहुन्ह 'you will please continue to speak to him.'

(i) Present Imperfect Conditional with √रह in the Conditional : अबैत रहितथि, 'had he continued coming.'

(j) Present Imperfect Progressive with √रह in in the Past Tense : बजैत रहल, 'he continued saying.'

2. Tenses originating from the Past Participle Base *plus* a verb substantive in different tenses :

(a) Present Perfect Instantaneous with the principal verb in the Past Indicative Tense *plus* the Present of √अछि of the third person : देखलहुँ अछि, 'I have seen.'

(b) Present Perfect Indefinite of transitive verbs with the principal verb in the absolutive of the past

passive participle and the auxiliary verb अछि in the Present Indicative : देखने छी, 'I have seen.'

(c) Present Perfect of Intransitive Verb with the principal verb in the Past Participial form and the Present Indicative of √सूत, एतए सूतल छी, 'I have slept here.'

(d) Past Perfect with the principal verb in ने in the case of transitive verbs and in ल in the case of intransitive verbs, with the Past Indicative of √अछ or the Present Optative of √रह, देखने छलहुँ, 'I had seen.' सूतल रहए, 'he had slept.'

(e) Past Presumptive with the Principal verb as above and √हो in Future : गेल होएत, 'he might have gone'; खएने होएताह, 'he might have eaten'.

(f) Past Subjunctive or Conditional with the Principal Verb as above and √रह in the Conditional : सूतल रहितहुँ, 'if I had slept'; खएने रहितहुँ, 'I might have finished eating (by now)'.

(g) Future Perfect with the Principal Verb as above and √रह in the Future Indicative : गेल रहब, I shall have gone', खएने रहब, 'I shall have eaten'.

(h) Present Perfect Subjunctive with the Principal Verb as above and √हो in the Indic Present : गेल होथि, 'if he has gone'.

C. For an account of Periphrastic Tenses with more than two roots see below under Auxiliary Verbs.

7. *The Base*

It has been seen above that the bases which form the different tense forms are either radical or obtainable from one of the participles. Therefore, it is desirable to explain the formation of the different kinds of bases.

Radical Base

All the transitive verb roots ending in आ including the causative formations even from intransitive verb

roots, except the root खा, to eat, and the intransitive verb root आ, to come, take the विकरण 'व'; so do the roots ending in ई, ऊ to form the radical base. Thus √गा, to sing, √आ, to come, √हँसा, to cause to laugh, and √पी, to drink, form their radical base as गाओल, आव, हँसाव, and पीब.

The roots द, to give, and ल, to take, become दि, लि, in the first person, and दे and ले in the third person.

Present Participle Base

ऐत is added to the radical base to form the present participle base. Such roots ending in आ as do not take the विकरण 'व' to form the radical base and the roots ending in ओ take इत to form present participle base.

THUS :—From √कह, to say, √द, to give, √छू, to touch, √हो, to be, √खा, to eat, the present participle bases are कहैत, दैत, छुवैत, होइत, खाइत.

Past Participle Base

The roots ending in a consonant take अल. Thus :— देखल, from √देख, to see.

The roots ending in आ not taking व in the radical take एल to form the past participle base. Thus :—from √नहा, to bathe, नहाएल. Other roots ending in आ take ओल Thus, from √नुका, to hide, नुकाओल. The roots ending in ई, ऊ take उल, इल respectively. Thus :—from √सी, to stitch, and √छू to touch, the past participle bases are सिउल and छुइल.

√द, to give and √ ल, to take have देल and लेल.

√कर, to do, √मर, to die and √धर, to hold have कएल, मुइल, and धएल as the past participle base.

The roots ending in ओ take एल. Thus :—from √धो, to wash, धोएल.

Past Participle Absolutive

It is formed by adding ए to the past participle base. [*Vide* § 9]

(*To be Continued*)

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CASTE-NAMES: SĀḶĪ AND PADMASĀḶĪ

By P. K. Gode

In the *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakośa*[1] we find an article on the *Sālī* caste which is based on the information supplied to the Editors of this Encylopaedia by a member of this caste. But this information is not substantiated by reliable documentary evidence. Even if we presume it to be reliable in material particulars it is difficult to use this mixture of fact and belief for any historical studies about this caste. We must, therefore, verify the information from available records and try to link up at least a portion of these data with authentic history, social or political.

It is difficult to assess the exact historical value of the *Māhātmyas* and the *Purāṇas* and consequently it is difficult to say anything with certainty about the genuineness or otherwise of the *Sālīmāhātmya Purāṇa*. In view of this difficulty we must study the antiquity and history of this caste on the strength of external evidence. For this purpose we must record evidence about the

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[1] By Dr. S. V. Ketkar, Vol. XXI, (स १७७). This article records information about the subcaste *Svakula Sālī*. The members of this caste number about 50000 and they are scattered over Mahārāṣtra, Berar, Nagpur and Karnāṭaka. There are six subcastes of the *Svakula Sālī* caste, *viz*., (1) अष्टेरे (अहेर), (2) शुद्ध (सूत), (3) टिकले, (4) बांगड, (5) गुजर, (6) पद्मसाळी. No inter-marriages are allowed among the members of these castes. Generally the Deśastha Brahmins work as their priests. A work called साली माहात्म्य पुराण is considered sacred by the members of these castes. It is said to have been composed by the sage Atri (in Sanskrit). An adaptation of this Purāṇa in Prākrit called मूलस्तंबीसालमाहात्म्यपुराण is said to have been composed by भानुदास before A.D. 1213 (=Śaka 1135). This Purāṇa gives the origin of the Sālī Caste (information supplied by Mr. G. G. Shere of Sagar).

antiquity of the caste-names[2] current in India at different times as caste-nomenclature[3] is the result of caste-consciousness in a social group and the history of this group lies behind the caste-nomenclature, the antiquity of which needs to be traced to its source as far as possible.

The *Bombay Gazetteer*[4] shows the presence of the people of the *Sālī* caste in the different districts of the Bombay Presidency. In view of this fact we are naturally curious to know the history of this caste and its subdivi-

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[2] I have published the following papers on the caste-names current in the Deccan:—

(i) The Antiquity of the caste-name "Śeṇvī" (*The Bombay University Journal*, Vol. VI, Pt. VI, pp. 152-155).

(ii) Caste-name Gābīt (*Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, 1938, pp. 213-222).

[3] Vide *Indian Caste* by John Wilson, Vol. I, 1877. On page 40 we find a table of castes as mentioned in the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa*, in which कुविन्दक or weaver is said to have Viśwakarmā as his father and a Śūdra woman as mother. Wilson refers to 4 lists of Castes as follows:—

(1) Lists given in the *Manu Smṛti*.

(2) Lists presented to the British Government by the Poona Brahmins (pp. 65—70).

(3) List by Colebrooke (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V).

(4) List found in the *Jātiviveka*.

Wilson states that none of these lists altogether agree with one another. This fact establishes the fictional character of the caste arrangements especially of the *Mixed classes*.

In List No. 2 mentioned above we find the *Sālī* and *Koṣṭī*.

"74. *Shāmbara—Sālī*—Weaver"—born of आवर्तक and वेन.

75. *Kuravinda—Koṣṭī*—Weaver and Spinner born of आवर्तक and कुक्कुट.

[4] Vide Index to the *Bombay Gazetteer* 1904, p. 326--"Sālī; a caste of weavers in *Ratnagiri* district, X, 125; in *Thana* district, XIII, 134; in *Nasik* district; XVI, 53; in *Ahmadnagar* district, XVII, 130-131; in *Satara* district, XIX, 93; in *Sholapur* district, XX, 137; in *Belgaum* district, XXI, 145-47; in *Dharwar* district, XXII, 172-178; in *Bijapur* district, XXIII, 277-279; in *Kolhapur State*, XXIV, 95; in *Poona* district, XVIII, Pt. 1, 361-365; in *Kolaba* district, XI, 65; in *Khandesh* district, XII, 75, 229, 234.

sions during the course of the evolution of the Hindu Society as it exists today.

The Marathi lexicons[5] do not record any historical usages of the term *Sālī*.[6] I shall, therefore, try to record a few such usages found by me in works of the 17th century. The Mahārāṣṭra saint Tukārām refers to a man of the *Sālī* caste in the following lines[7] in his Gāthā :–

" मजसवें नको चेष्टा। नव्हे साली काहीं कोष्टा."

Here साली is contrasted with कोष्टा. The कोष्टी is explained by Molesworth as a spinner and weaver but he further states that the men of the कोष्टी caste agree with the men of the साली caste in occupation but differ in caste. This explanation agrees with Tukārāma's remark viz. "नव्हे साली कांहीं कोष्टा".

Another reference to the *Sālī*[8] and the *Koṣṭī* is found in the work *Kāyasthadharma-Pradīpa* of Gāgābhaṭṭa who

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5 Molesworth (*Marathi-English Dictionary*, Bombay, 1857) explains the word साली as a class of weavers (in cotton or silk) or an individual of it:—Proverb "सालयाची गाय मालया चें वासरूं."—used where things wanted are gathered from all quarters.

6 A few remarks about the *Sālīs* from the *Bombay Gazetteer* may be noted here:—They claim descent from Vastradhārī, the robes-man of the gods, whom the gods accompanied on earth in the form of useful tools. Their family gods are Bahirobā of Sonari in Ahmadnagar, Devi of Tuljapur in the Nizam's country, and Khandobā of Jejuri in Poona. They belong to four divisions (1). *Sakul*, (2) *Nakul* (or *Lakul*), (3) *Padam* and (4) *Chāmbhār*, *Sālīs*. *Sakul Sālīs* are the pure descendants of the founder of the caste. *Lakuls* are bastards, *Padmas* are Telangs and *Chambhars* are of unknown origin. *Sakuls* neither eat nor marry with the other three divisions. *Lakuls*, *Padmas*, and *Chambhars* neither eat together nor inter-marry but all eat from *Sakuls*......They worship all Brahmanical and other gods and keep all Hindu fasts and feasts. Their priest is a village Joshi ...... They have no religious teacher .... They have a caste council. They burn their dead and mourn ten days. (See pp. 130-131 of *B. Gaz*. XVII—Ahmadnagar).

7 *Tukārāma's Gātha*, ed. by R. V. Madgaonkar, Bombay, 1886. *Abhanga No.* 277.

8 Sardar G. N. Mujumdar has published a list of articles of grocery pertaining to Shivaji's times, i.e., *17th century* (B. I. S. M. Quarterly, May 1940, Vol. XX, No. 4—pp. 157-161). On p. 160 of this list there is a reference to साली, कोस्टे, रंगारी, धणगर, गोली.

officiated at the coronation of Shivāji the Great in A.D. 1674. In this work Gāgābhaṭṭa gives us the definitions of several caste-names current in his time and also indicates their vernacular equivalents as the following extract will show:—

"संगता वेन वनिता वर्तकेन यदा रहः।
तस्यां शांवरकाभिख्यः पुत्र संलक संमतः॥
स हीनस्त्वन्यजातिभ्यः शुचिवासो विधायकः।
अयं साली[9] इति भाषाप्रसिद्धः
अभीर कुक्कुटाभ्यां यो जातः सौवीरसंज्ञकः।
स कुर्यात्तसरीणां च वसनान्यात्मवृत्तये॥
तद्वैपरीत्याद्यो जातो निलीकर्ता स कथ्यते।
कोशटा इति बंगालदेशभाषाप्रसिद्धः॥

This reference to *Sālis* and *Koṣṭis* supports Gāgābhaṭṭa's usages of these terms *c.* 1674 A.D. Tobacco or तंबाखू is mentioned twice in this list. The list is of importance to the students of Economics of the Maratha period of history. It mentions other articles of trade such as--गुलाल, गंधक, पारा, मोरचूत, अरगजा, तुरटी, सज्याखार, साखर सोमोल, मनसील, रेवतचिनी, कृष्णागर, चोपचिनी, ऊद, तरंकारी दालिवे, मक्केचे कापसे, फणसपोली etc.

[9] It is difficult to say how far Gāgābhaṭṭa's definition of the term *Sālī* is correct historically. At the best he has only recorded the Shāstric view of the term *Sālī* and its verification on the strength of historical evidence needs to be attempted by the students of history and sociology as well.

In the जातिविवेकप्रकरण of a work called the स्मृतिमहाराज by कृष्णराज (MS No. 347 of 1887-91) we find definitions of several castes (*jātis*). On folio 19b of the above MS the definition of कुविंद or weaver is recorded and the vernacular term साली for कुविंद is also noted:—

"तृतीये दिवसे गत्वा शूद्रो मोहाद्रजस्वलां।
यं पुत्रं जनयेत्सोत्र कुविद इति कीर्तितः॥
कुर्यान्नूतनवस्त्राणि जीवेत्तद्विक्रयेण च।
द्विजसेवा सदा कुर्यान्नास्य काप्यपराजिता॥कुविंदः। साली।"

No chronology of the स्मृतिमहाराज has been given by Prof. Kane (Vide pp. 670 and 688 of *History of Dharma*. I, 1930). Its author कृष्णराज was a king of Mahārāṣṭra. On folio 12 the definition of साली is recorded as follows:—

"संगता वेन वनिता वर्त्तकेन यदा रहः।
तस्य शाबरकाभिख्यः पुत्रो सौलोक विश्रुतः॥
स हीनस्त्वंत्यजातिभ्यः शुचिवासोविधायकः।
वेन वनितेति। आवर्त्तको वैष्णवो गायको ब्राह्मणश्चेति॥

Before recording usages of the term Sālī or Padma-Sālī earlier than Gāgābhaṭṭa's time, i.e. say before A.D. 1650 or so I shall record here some remarks on the *Sāle* caste of weavers in the Mysore State by Nanjundayya and Iyer.[10] Speaking of the origin and tradition of this caste these authors inform us as follows:—

(1) The term *Sāle* is a general term applied to a group of castes who have adopted weaving as their profession.

(2) The term *Sāle* comes from the Sanskrit *Sālika*[11] (weaver) and its Kannaḍa equivalent is *neyige*.

(3) The account of the origin of the *Sale* caste as it is given out tells us that " in order to clothe the nakedness of people in the world Śiva commissioned Mārkaṇḍeya to perform a sacrifice and one Bhavana Ṛṣi came out of the holy fire, holding a lotus flower (*padma*) in his hand. He married two wives *Prasannavatī* and *Bhadravatī*, daughters of *Sūrya* (the Sun) and had a hundred and one sons, all of whom took to weaving cloth out of the fibre of the lotus flower for men to wear and became the progenitors of the one hundred and one *gotras* of this caste. God *Sūrya*, being pleased with what they did, gave them a fifth Veda called *Padma Veda*. And so men of this caste give out that they belong to *Padma Śākhā* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Sūtra*, analogous to *Śākhās*, *Sūtras* and gotras of the Brahmans."

इति सांबरः । साली ". This definition is the same as we find in Gāgābhaṭṭa's '*Kayastbadbarmapradīpa*. Then again the definition of कोशटा given by Gāgābhaṭṭa, viz., " अभीर कुक्कुटाभ्यां.........कथ्यते" is also recorded on folio 12 of the स्मृतिमहाराज. It is difficult to say if Gāgābhaṭṭa has drawn from the स्मृतिराज (or vice versa) some matter for his कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप.

10 *Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Vol. IV, by H. V. Nanjundayya and L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, Mysore, 1931, pp. 559 ff.

11 There is no such word as *Sālika* found in Sanskrit Dictionaries.

"They profess to have followed rites prescribed for Brahmans till at the beginning of the Kali age one of their castemen named *Padmākṣa* declined to reveal the virtues of a miraculous gem which Brahma had given to their caste, to Gaṇapati, who sought to learn the secret, which they had been enjoined to keep and who, on his wish not being gratified, cursed them to fall from their high status. It is said, however, that one *Parabrahmamūrti* born of *Śrīrāma Agrahāra* pleased Gaṇapati by his *tapas* and got the curse removed, so that after 5000 years of the Kaliyuga they should regain their lost position. This *Parabrahmamūrti* otherwise known as *Padmabhavāchārya*, it is said, redistributed into ninety-six *gotras* arranged in eight groups and established four *Maṭhas* and *gurus* for them."

We are also told that "the age and origin of this story cannot be ascertained." In view of this express statement of Messrs. Nanjundayya and Iyer this story[12] has no evidential value in proving the antiquity of the term *Sālī* or *Padmasālī*. In the same manner Mr. Stuart's note regarding the origin of this caste, which refers to the migration of the *Sāliyas* from their Andhra home to the territory under the jurisdiction of Rājarāja I, needs verification on the strength of contemporary historical evidence. At any rate no such evidence has been recorded by the above authors in their book under reference.

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[12] Vide footnote on p. 560 of *Mysore Tribes and Castes* where Mr. Stuart's remarks regarding the origin of the Sālī caste are reproduced as follows:—

> "They claim to be the descendants of the sage named Mrikanda, the weaver of the gods. Their original home appears to have been the Andhra country from whence a section of the *Saliyas* was invited by the Chola King Rajaraja I after the union of the Eastern Chalukya and Chola dynasties"—*Census Report of Madras for* 1891, p. 285.

The principal groups of the *Sāle* caste are as follows :—

(1) *Padmasāle*
(2) *Pattusāle* (*silk*)
(3) *Sakunsāle*

Here again we are told that the origin of these subdivisions is not clear. The *Padmasāle* division is, however, more important than the other two divisions. According to a tradition current among the Sāle caste the members of this caste emigrated from Vijayanagara territory, in particular from Hampe during the time of Kempe Gauḍa. If this tradition is correct the migration of the *Sāles* from the Vijayanagara territory can be said to have taken place about the middle of the 16th century as Kempe Gauḍa of Bengaluru flourished about A.D. 1558.[13] While dealing with the textile industries during the period of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar Prof. Ramanayya[14] gives us some valuable information about the *Sāles*. Three references from this information may be noted here as they are of historical value:—

(1) An inscription[15] of Andirāju Koḍūr mentions two classes of looms, *togaṭa maggas* and *Sāle-maggas*.

(2) According to the *Āmuktamālyada*[16] of Kṛṣṇadevarāya (4.35) the weaver Caste had divisions of the names: *Padmasāles*, *Sāles*, *Jāṇḍras* etc.

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13 B.A. Saletore: *Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, p. 320—"A prominent example of a chieftain being punished is that of Kempe Gauḍa of Beṅgalūru. This chief in about A.D. 1558 was imprisoned by Rāma Rāja for exceeding the powers of a feudal lord and coining Bhıre—Deva—Pagodas."

14 *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, by Prof. N. V. Ramanayya, Madras, 1935, p. 304.

15 *Local Records* by C. P. Brown I, pp. 11-13.

16 This "sublime poem" was composed by Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself (see p. 434 of *Third Dynasty*).

(3) The *Atthavaṇa Tantram*[17] divides the weavers into two classes: (1) *Kurubas* and (2) the *Sāles*.

The foregoing evidence appears to establish the fact that the *Sāles* and *Padmasāles* as caste-names were current in the first half of the 16th century within the confines of the Vijayanagara Empire. This conclusion is further supported by an inscription recently published by Mr. M. R. Kavi in the *Annals*[18] of the S. V. Oriental Institute, Tirupati. This inscription is dated *Śaka* 1463 (*Śubhakṛt*, *Kārtika Śukla* 15) = A.D. 1541 and "records the gift of 10,000 *varāhas* by the leaders of the *Padmasālā* sect to Tallapaka Tiruvengalanāthayya with an annual subsidy of one *aparañji rūka* (gold coin) for each loom and one *rūka* on the marriage occasion in their families ....The gift of *aparañji rūka* levied annually on each loom of their caste and of *rūka*—the marriage gift—were intended for the expense of the doneé's charities and house-hold expenses."

The occasion for the above grant of A.D. 1541 as detailed in the inscription itself and summarised by Mr. M. R. Kavi is as follows:—

" A contest took place between the *Padmaśālā* and *Jaṇḍra* castes whether which of the two castes were descendants of the family in which the Goddess Lakṣmī was born. Tiruveṅgalanātha, the doneé, took the leaders of the two castes to Tirucānur and before the whole congregation induced Goddess Padmāvatī herself to declare that *Padmaśālas* descended from the family of her parents and the charities of the *Jaṇḍra* people could not

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[17] The *Atthavaṇa Tantra* is a work on revenue administration —Ibid. p. 111. (*Mackenzie Manuscripts* 15-6-8—According to *Atthavaṇa Tantra* all affairs connected with the revenue of the state were under the jurisdiction of the *Atthavaṇa* or *Sīmāmūla*).

[18] Vol. I, Part I, March 1940—pp. 89 ff.—Copper-Plate Inscription of Tallapāka Tiruveṅgalanātha issued from Tirucānur.

have greater claim over those of the *Padmaśālā* caste. This service of Tiruveṅgalanātha, the doneé, had to be rewarded by the gifts mentioned above ....The *Padmaśālā* weavers having been admitted as possessors of superior rights and duties in the charities to be made for God Viṣṇu and his consort Lakṣmī were pleased to make the grants." Mr. Kavi further tells us that the same matter with the same donors and doneé as in the above inscription is noted in an inscription recorded in Mackenzie collection Vol. No. 15-4-18, p. 57 and in its copy—*Local Records* Vol. 48, p. 443 in the Govt. Ori. MSS Library, Madras. The occasion for the above grant was also a contest between the *Padmaśālās* and *Jaṇḍras*. The above inscription is dated Śaka 1493=A.D. 1571. It extolls the weaving skill of the *Padmaśālās*, which extends to the spinning and weaving of the threads of the divine lotus which adorns the navel of God Viṣṇu out of which they supplied the divine clothes to various gods iṇ Hindu pantheon. Other points of interest bearing on the ancestry and tradition of the *Padmaśālās* noted by Mr. Kavi from the inscription may be briefly noted here:—

(1) The Padmaśālās are descended from *Bhāvana-maharṣi* who sprang from the *homakuṇḍa* of sage Mārkaṇḍeya.

(2) *Pañca-ṛṣi* was a brother of *Bhāvana*, who seems to have married the daughter of sun (probably virgin *Bhadrāvatī* mentioned in line 88 of the Inscription).

(3) Certain members of the caste achieved some heroic acts and thus procured titles for the whole caste.

Mr. Kavi informs us further that "these weavers are said to reside in every town, particularly in—

Tirupati, Candragiri, Śriraṅgam, Conjeevaram, Trichinopoly, Chenuapaṭṇa (Madras), Kālahasti, Veṅkaṭagiri, Vellore, Nellore, Podili, Udayagiri, Golkoṇḍa, Penugoṇḍa, Inugoṇḍa (in Guntur district?), Kāṇḍanūm, Jagannātha, Delhi, Aurangabad, Rāyadurg, Avaku (in

Kurnool district), Gurramkoṇḍa, Gooty, Koṇḍvīḍu, Bhallapura (in Bellary ?), Srirangapatam, Ahmednagar, Bangalore, Cuddapah, Siddhavaṭam, Rajamundry, Chirala, Perala, Mangalagiri, etc."

My object in collecting together the foregoing information in detail is mainly to provide data[16] to the historians of caste in India and also to record documentary evidence regarding the antiquity of caste-names *Sālī* and *Padamsālī* now current in the Bombay Presidency and outside.

The following table will give at a glance the chronology of the usages of these caste-names:—

A.D.	Source	Caste-name	Remarks
1509—1530	Āmuktamālyada of Kṛṣṇadevarāya	*Padmasāles, Sāles Jaṇḍras*	
1541	Copperplate inscription of Tiruveṅgalanātha	*Padmaśālā, Jāṇḍra*	Cf. tradition about the migration of *Sāles* from Vijayanagara in Kempe Gauḍa's time (C. 1558 A.D.)
1571	Mackenzie Collection Inscription	*Padmaśālā, Jāṇḍra*	
	Tukārāma's Gāthā	*Sālī, Koṣṭā*	
C. 1674	Gāgābhaṭṭa's Kāyasthadharma Pradīpa	*Sālī Kośaṭā*	Sanskrit "*Sanilaka*" a term current in Bengal according to Gāgābhaṭṭa.

19 Though the Caste-names are included in Dictionaries of different vernaculars it is necessary to prepare a special *Dictionary of Caste-names* with a view to help historical and sociological study of Indian castes. In the same manner a Dictionary of Surnames current in India is also a desideratum to facilitate an accurate exploitation of all available sources bearing on Indian Sociology. Even the usages of the term "*Upanāma*" (=Surname), which is comparatively a modern product, have not been recorded in any responsible publication. In the absence of such helpful, though mechanical work, the study of an individual problem becomes a herculean task.

SĀRASVATĀDVAITASUDHA

(*A Dissertation on the Raghuvaṁśa by* Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita)

By K. Madhava Krishna Śarma

The only work of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita, which is now well-known to scholars, is his commentary *Sāracandrikā* on the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*. Other works of his are very rare. Aufrecht in his *Cat. Cat.*, I, 536 b, notices, besides *Sāracandrikā*, a *Sūktimuktāvali* also and observes:—

"Whether the *Sūktāvali* Peters. 3, 35a, 54 is the same anthology, remains, for the present, uncertain."

About half a century has elapsed since Aufrecht expressed this doubt. None has investigated into the relation of these two works, and Aufrecht's doubt is there even to-day. Under a separate entry of Lakṣmaṇa, Aufrecht notices (*Ibid.* I, 536b) *Yogacandrikā*, a work on medicine. There are two *MSS* of this in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner (Nos. 4004 and 4005). On examination of these, I am convinced that this Lakṣmaṇa is the same author. There is, therefore, no need for two separate entries in the *Cat. Cat.*. Nāganātha in Aufrecht's second entry stands for Nāgeśa, a preceptor of our author. One of the *MSS* referred to, namely, No. 4005, is dated Saṃvat 1747 (A.D. 1690). This date is very important inasmuch as it proves that Lakṣmaṇa cannot be assigned to a period later than the 17th century. This may have some bearing on the relation of *Sūktimuktāvali* and *Sūktāvali*.

Krishnamachariar in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (para 373, p. 390, footnote) mentions one *Sūktāvali* of Lakṣmaṇa, composed in 1867 A.D. No evidence is given for this date. What we have to note is that if

this date for *Sūktāvali* is correct, it cannot be the work of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita who, as the date of the above *MS* shows, flourished at least a century earlier.

Another work erroneously fathered upon our author by Krishnamachariar (*Ibid.*, para 88, p. 189, footnote) is a commentary on Vādirāja's *Yaśodharacarita*, for which a reference is made to the *Triennial Catalogue*, Madras, III, 3824. But this is not correct, for the author of this commentary is Lakṣaṇa (not Lakṣmaṇa), a Jaina, who has no connection whatsoever with our author.

Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita was of the Kauṇḍinyagotra. He was the son of Datta and Gojāmbikā, younger brother of Gaṇeśa and Raghunātha of Benares, and the nephew of Nāgeśa and Nārāyaṇa who were also his preceptors of medical science. Uttamaślokatīrtha, the author of *Laghuvārtikaṭīkā*, was his preceptor in Advaita. He pays homage to Rāmāśrama also. If this Rāmāśrama is the same as the son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, it proves the upper limit of our author's date, viz., the middle of the 17th century. For the other limit we have the date of the *MS* in the Anup Sanskrit Library, viz., Saṃvat 1747 or A.D. 1690. We can thus assign him to the latter half of the 17th century.

A rare work of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita which has not hitherto received a scholarly notice anywhere is his *Sārasvatādvaitasudhā*. It is a philosophical and grammatical dissertation on the *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa. The philosophical view adopted is Advaita. There is a *MS* of this in the Anup Sanskrit Library. Unfortunately, the *MS* contains the commentary up to the sixteenth verse of the first Canto.

The *MS* is on country made paper. It has 66 folio 8½″ × 3½″ ; 10 lines in a page ; 30 syllables in a line ; Devanāgarī script ; Old ; Discoloured and slightly worm-eaten. On the last page there is a note in Kannaḍa mentioning one Ṣaṭkarmanirata Dīkṣita.

Beginning : श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

परापरपदद्वन्द्वानुशासनविशारदम् ।
नमस्यामि गुरुद्वैतमद्वैतसमवस्थितम् ॥ १ ॥
आत्रेयकौण्डिन्यकुलतिलकायितमूर्तिकौ ।
गोजाम्बिकादत्तबुधौ पितरावन्तराश्रये ॥ २ ॥
काशीवाससमुल्लासिसद्विद्याशीलसंपदौ ।
गणेशरघुनाथाख्यसंख्यावन्तौ भजेऽग्रजौ ॥ ३ ॥
विर्श्वविख्यातनागेशनारायणसदाह्वयौ ।
मत्यावमतनासत्यावतुलौ नौमि मातुलौ ॥ ४ ॥
तज्जयत्युत्तमश्लोकपादाम्बुजरजोऽञ्जनम् ।
येन सत्त्वमयं चक्षुर्मम तत्त्वमवेक्षते ॥ ५ ॥
अन्तःसंतमसध्वंसे यस्य गावो विकस्वराः ।
श्रीरामाश्रममश्रान्तं भास्वन्तं तं समाश्रये ॥ ६ ॥
विन्यस्तभूरिभारस्य श्लाघ्यसद्गुरुमातरि ।
स्थाने मम समेधन्ते नैकधात्वादिसम्पदम् ॥ ७ ॥
सत्कथापरमार्थाभ्यामनुरञ्जयते जनान् ।
आशयं कालिदासस्य विवरीतुं यतामहे ॥ ८ ॥
उत्तमश्लोकपादेषु यद्वस्त्वधिगतं मया ।
उत्तमश्लोकपादेषु यद्वस्त्वधिगतं मया (?) ॥१० ॥
वैदिक वस्तु वाग्देव्या कथयापिहितं पुरः ।
कः पश्येदुत्तमश्लोककृपालोः कविर्वजितः ॥१० ॥
यत्संगतोऽद्वैतसुधासमुद्रे संविश्य यद्भाविकता मिता स्मः ।
नरस्वभावापहरः सुहृन्नो नारायणः सर्वगुरुः स जीयात् ॥११ ॥

... .

... ...

Fol. 6a : अत्र वागर्थाविव संपृक्ताविति वागर्थप्रतिपद्दिति च पृथक् पदम् । वागर्थप्रतिपदहं वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ जगतः पितरौ पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ नये वन्दे इत्यन्वयः । वन्ति गच्छन्ति गन्धयन्ति हिंसन्तीति वाः । आगमापायिनो दुःखपर्यवसायिनश्च विषयाः । तेषु अक् कुटिलगतिरन्तःकरणादीनामनर्थपर्यवसायिनी प्रवृत्तिः । तस्या अर्थो निवृत्तिः । तां प्रतिपद्यते इति वागर्थप्रतिपत् । नित्यानित्यविवेकदोषदर्शनोपपन्नवैराग्यमूलकशमदमादिरूपबाह्यनिवृत्तिसम्पन्नः । वा गतिगन्धनयोः । अस्मात्क्विप् चेति कर्तरि क्विप् । अन्येष्वपि दृश्यत इति डो वा ॥

End : भास्वद्ब्रह्मज्ञानिवंशावतंसश्रीमद्गोजादत्तसूरिप्रसूतेः ।
हृद्यो विद्वल्लक्ष्मणस्य प्रयासो विश्वेशस्य प्रीतये शश्वदस्तु ॥

इति श्रीमत्पदवाक्यपारावारपारीणपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमदुत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ महामुनिकृपाकटाक्षैकवीक्षितब्रह्मज्ञानिवंशावतंसदत्तसूरिसुतश्रीलक्ष्मणपण्डितविरचितायां रघुवंशापरपर्यायसारस्वतोपनिषद्व्याख्यायामद्वैतसुधासमाख्यायां समन्वयसमर्थनो नाम प्रथमः कलापः ॥

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SHRIMAD BHAGAVAD GITA—The solution of life-problems. Annotated by Bengali Baba. Published by Sham Sundar Mulkh Raj Puri, Shree Maharaja Steel Mills, Ltd., Kapurthala, 1944. Pages xxxviii + 383. Price Rs. 3.

The study of the *Bhagavadgītā* is to-day being encouraged in several ways and accordingly several new editions of the work are seen in the market. Each one of these editions is aiming at giving the faithful interpretation of these text in as simple a way as possible. The edition under review contains a brief introduction wherein the author presents a short description of the different views on the *Gītā*, which he has come across during his travels throughout the country. His own view follows the Advaita School. He has explained the lines of the *Gītā* fully in the light of the *Yogasūtra* along with the extensive and all-embracing authority of the Vedic-scriptures. The author believes in the synthetic gradation in the various schools of Indian philosophy and does not find any antagonistic difference between the teachings of these schools, the Śrūtis and the *Gītā*.

The author has also given a faithful rendering of the verses in English and has added important and useful annotations wherever necessary. He has done a great service by publishing his views in this book. His notes are interesting and useful.

PRASTHANIK-TRYI OR THE THREE-FOLD VEDANT. By R. C. Vidyarthi, Gita Bhawan, Agra, 1944. Pages 682.

This is the first volume of the three *Prasthānas* and contains the Sanskrit text along with the English translation

of the twelve chief Upaniṣads—Iśa, Kena, Kaṭha, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, Śvetāśvatara, Prasna, Aitareya, Taittirīya, Kauṣītakī, Chāndogya, and Bṛhadāraṇyaka. The next two volumes will contain the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Brahmasūtra*. It has also got a brief Introduction. The author has added explanatory notes on important and difficult passages and has given references to the *Gītā* and the *Brahmasūtra*, based on the Upaniṣads.

The Introduction briefly deals with the following subjects—Veda, Upaniṣad, Brahman, Jīva, World, the three paths after death, Past Karman, Creation and Dissolution, Action path and knowledge path, Gods and Demons.

It is a very useful effort and the author deserves encouragement so that he may bring out the other volumes. It is, however, strange that the author has translated the Upaniṣads and yet he does not appear to be quite accurate in his spelling of the Sanskrit words throughout the book. Even the very title of the book is wrongly spelt. As the author is going to present to the scholarly world other volumes, it would not be out of place to point out certain defective remarks from the book. It seems that he follows the view of Śaṅkarācārya in his interpretation. If it is so, it is doubtful how far he is correct in saying that "the liberated Self and Brahma become one and the same" (p. 6), "On release it (Jiva) merges and then becomes one and the same with Brahma" (p. 7). Again, "Jiva is neither separate from Brahma nor manifold", etc.

The first two statements assert that the liberated self has got a separate existence which, later on, is lost in Brahman. But we know from the texts 'तत्त्वमसि', 'सोऽहम्' etc., that even during the state of bondage one should always think of the self (Jīva) as Brahman and nothing else. In fact, by liberation we should understand the realisation of the Absolute Brahman in the Jīva itself. Then, regarding the third statement we know that the Jīva, as long as it is in bondage,

is manifold due to nescience. Again, on page 8, the author says—"In the *Turīya* the Jiva is in the state of Samādhi and becomes one with the Supreme Self." We know from our studies that in Samādhi the Jīva does retain its individuality, though it is not apparently visible. Further, *Prārabdha* is not that *Karman* which is ready for operation (p. 11), but it is that which has begun its operation. There are similar other points which require a careful revision.

In spite of these, the translation is quite good and the appendices are very useful. The author should have used a particular method of transliteration. On the whole, it is a good addition to the existing literature.

ĀŚVALĀYANA GṚHYA SŪTRA (Vol. I.-Adhyaya 1), with the commentaries of Devasvāmin and Narāyaṇa. Edited by Swami Ravi Tirtha. Published by the Adyar Library, 1944. Pages xx + 220. Price Rs. 6-4-0.

This volume is No. 44 of the *Adyar Library Series*. It contains a Foreword by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and an introduction by the editor. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* with the two commentaries had already appeared in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* serially from 1937 to 1941. The present volume contains only the first chapter. It is based on the *MSS* of the Adyar and other libraries. Other volumes will soon follow. It is also proposed to publish an English translation of the Sūtras with notes from the commentaries.

There are several commentaries on this Gṛhyasūtra. Recently the commentary of Haradatta has been published in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*. The commentary of Devasvāmin is more important. The Adyar Library is to be congratulated for such a fine edition. The editor says in his Introduction while discussing the law of Karman,

> "This law of Karma and of transmigration is not a philosophy of fatalism, where man is doomed till eternity by his starting

point. On the other hand, it is a philosophy of full freedom for the will of man, where even a God does not interfere. Man can get guidance and aid from God ; but God does not stop him or ruin him At every particular movement, man can shape his future according to his will. It is this complete freedom of man's will that is at the root of the doctrine of Karma."

May I know, if at every particular moment man can shape his future according to his will, why should any one in the world remain unhappy ? It is a fact that no one likes misery though it is so very common, and if it were in man's power, he should have put an end to it for ever. But it is not the case. Again, if a man has complete freedom, what is the difference then between a man and a super-human being ?

Then again, the editor says--"According to ancient Indian law-givers there was no conflict between reform and orthodoxy." But it is a fact that our ancient law-givers did not find any such conflict only when the so-called reforms were not opposed to Śrutis and Smṛtis. Thɔy never made any confusion between a custom prevalent in a locality and a general law. Marriage with the daughter of one's maternal uncle was recognized only as a custom of a locality and not a law for the nation. We wish that the remarks of the editor should have been more thoughtful and considerate.

THE MĪMĀMSĀŚLOKAVĀRTTIKA with the commentary Kāśikā of Sucarita Miśra, Pt. III. Edited by Mīmāmsakaratna, V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M.A., Honorary Director, University Manuscript Library, Trivandrum, 1943. Pages 47+36+23+237. Price Rs. 3-0-0.

The volume under review is No. CL. of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*. Both the authors--Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Sucarita Miśra are too well-known and need no intro-

duction. The editor has added critical introductions, both in English and Sanskrit, to this volume. He discusses the various topics of the *Tarkapāda*. If Pārthasārathi Miśra has referred to Sucarita Miśra, as the editor thinks, then we should place Sucarita Misra earlier than the tenth century; for Pārthasārathi lived before Halāyudha, the court Pandit of Lakṣmaṇa Sen, who copied profusely from the *Śāstradīpikā* in his Mīmāṁsāśāstrasarvasva.

Except for the quality of paper, which is beyond one's control these days, the edition is a useful addition to the literature of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā. The editor deserves our praise for his critical introduction and appendices.

ASSAMESE, ITS FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT. By Dr. Banikanta Kakati, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Government of Assam in the department of historical and antiquarian studies, Narayani Handiqui Historical Institute, Gauhati, Assam. 1941. Pages xxxii + 408.

This is a scientific treatise on the history and philology of the Assamese language, being a thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. by the University of Calcutta. It deals, as the title indicates, with the growth of the Assamese language, and the treatment of the subject has been carried out throughout on scientific lines. We welcome the book more for the reason that it shows clearly how distinct the Assamese language is from the languages of the nearing provinces and Dr. Kakati is to be congratulated for his successful attempt. The book is well-written and will be helpful to the study of other allied languages.

The author has traced the gradual growth of the Assamese language and has collected all possible materials from the Assamese sources to present and facilitate a comparative study of the language in its varied aspects. Though

this is the first attempt at a scientific study of this language, yet Dr. Kakati has tried to make his book as complete as possible. We learn, however, from various sources that the Assamese language was much influenced by Maithilī in the beginning. While dealing with the growth of this language, it was very essential to show what was the nature of that influence. Otherwise, the book is quite interesting and useful. We wish that such books were written on each of the languages of the country.

BHAVARTHA RATNAKARA OF RAMANUJACHARYA, translated into English by B. V. Raman, Raman Publications. P.O. Malleswaram, Bangalore, 1944, Price Rs. 4-8.

This is the English translation with notes and charts of a small book on Astrology. There is no indication in the text to show that the author can be the great Vaiṣṇava teacher of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school as the translator is inclined to believe. The book is divided into 14 chapters. The treatment is extremely sketchy. One can hardly learn much astrology from such a book. The translator has attempted to increase its usefulness by adding illustrative horoscopes and explanatory notes on them. There is unnecessary verbosity in some of the notes, e.g., the whole of para 1 on page 46, trying to explain the difference between Veda and Vedānta is both unnecessary and inaccurate.

—K. CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY (four lectures) by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad 1944. Pages 107 with 27 Plates. Price Rs. 3.

This is a collection of the four lectures delivered by Dr. Hirānanda Śastrī before the Research and Post-graduate department of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad.

In the first lecture Dr. Śāstrī has enumerated the sources of Ancient Indian History and shown how Archaeology has been the main feeder of Ancient Indian historical studies.

Nālandā is the theme of the third lecture. The first part of the lecture contains a brief account of Nālandā from 500 B.C. to the 12th century A.C. while the second gives an idea of the present conditions of Nālandā. Dr. Śāstrī believes 'that the name Nālandā is given to the place because of its being the giver or producer of *Nalas* or lotus—stalks' This etymology is doubtful. Strict grammar requires the form Nālada, and not Nālandā. It is not safe to explain place-names through supposed etymology. When and how Nālandā perished is still a mystery. Dr. Śāstrī seems to imply that Nālandā like the neighbouring Uddaupuri fell a victim to the savage bigotry and greed of Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyār Khalji (C. 1197 A.D.). The latest limit for the existence of Nālandā as a university centre is 750 A.D. But it probably existed up to the end of the 9th century (F. E. Keay—*Ancient Indian Education*). That Nālandā was subjected to a conflagration is evidenced not only by the debris but also by the inscription of Bālāditya. The record refers itself to the reign of Mahendrapaladeva, the Pratihāra King of Kanauj (890-908 A.D.).

The second lecture gives a bird's eye view of ancient sites of Gujarat, while the fourth discusses the sources of the cultural history of Gujarat. Dr. Śāstrī's view that the custom of erecting Śilā lashti (yashṭi) or Pāliyā, as they are called in Gujarat, was borrowed by the Hindus from the Śākas does not carry conviction. Such stones known as Vīragal (or Virakkal in the south) are found even in the extreme south where there was never any Śaka penetration. Equally untenable is Dr. Śāstrī's view that Ānartta was so called because it was inhabited by the Non-Aryans. There is no etymological connection between *Ānartta* and *Anārya*

or between Raivata and Ānartta as assumed by Dr. Śāstrī. Dr. Śāstrī quotes from the Purāṇas references to drinking bouts and prevalence of wine in Western India in support of his view, as if wine was not known to the Aryans! Of course, no one can deny a large non-Aryan element in the population of Gujarat. But that is altogether a later story.

—Govardhan Rai Sharma.